BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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NOTES AND NEWS

ON the occasion of its Jubilee celebrations, the Library was honoured, in the afternoon of Wednesday, the 22nd of March, by an official visit from the Lord Mayor of Manchester (Alderman Robert Moss) and the Lady Mayoress. The civic party was received, on behalf of the Trustees and Governors, by the Chairman of the Governors (Sir John S. B. Stopford), the Honorary Secretary (Mr. L. H. Orford), the Honorary Treasurer (Mr. A. Maurice Haworth) and the Librarian (Professor Robertson), and conducted to the Lecture Hall, where a large audience of distinguished guests, including the Mayor and Mayoress of Salford, was assembled. A speech of welcome was given by Sir John and in his reply the Lord Mayor spoke of his keen interest in the Library and paid a generous tribute to its work during the past fifty years. After the official presentations, the civic party and the guests were conducted on a tour of the building. Visits were paid to the Manuscript Room, the Bible Room, the Early Printed Book Room and an exhibition arranged in the Main Library. Members of the Staff were in attendance to show some of the more important of the Library's treasures, including Eastern and Western manuscripts, early Bibles, incunabula and rare books. Visitors and Staff were afterwards entertained to tea by the Governors.

CIVIC VISIT TO THE LIBRARY.

One hundred years ago the first Act of Parliament authorising the establishment of public libraries in this country was passed. Attempts to provide free libraries had been made before 1850, and the earliest municipal libraries in England appear to date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Chetham Library in this city was founded in 1653.

CENTENARY OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT.

Development was not lacking during the following centuries, but the immediate precursor of the Act of 1850 was that of 1845 "for encouraging the establishment of Museums in large towns". Under this Act certain authorities, notably Warrington and Salford, took the opportunity to establish libraries as well as museums. Opposition to the Public Libraries Act itself was strong, and arguments were advanced against it which now seem hardly credible, but, thanks to the efforts of William Ewart, Joseph Brotherton and Edward Edwards, it was passed on the 13th of March, 1850. No power, however, was granted to buy books, and the rate levied was not to exceed one halfpenny, the same figure allowed by the Museums Act; the operation of the Act was confined to boroughs with a population exceeding 10,000. In 1855 the rate was increased to one penny, the population figure lowered to 5,000 and expenditure on books, etc., permitted. Other Acts followed, among them those of 1892 and 1919, the latter removing the rate limit in England and Wales. Meanwhile, Ewart's Act had been extended, in 1853, to Scotland and Ireland. Although not the first city to adopt it, Manchester has the distinction of possessing the first public lending and reference library to be opened (September, 1852) under the Public Libraries Act, Edward Edwards being its first Librarian. The past century has witnessed a remarkable growth. To-day library service is given in Great Britain and Northern Ireland to 99·725 per cent. of the population from approximately 20,000 service points, and there are some 12,000,000 registered borrowers drawing from book stocks totalling over 40,000,000.

QUINCENTENARY OF ALDUS MANUTIUS.

Aldus Manutius, the quincentenary of whose birth falls this year, has a firm place in the history both of typography and classical scholarship. In format and type the volumes which issued from his press at Venice are a land-mark in book-production; the 'italic' first used in his Vergil in 1501 will always be associated with his name. In content his editions of the classics have the merit of being based on a careful collation of manuscripts. Aldus had resolved from his early days to preserve the

heritage of Greece and Rome by committing its masterpieces to type and in this endeavour he persisted despite continual difficulties and the interruptions of war. He was an enthusiastic Greek scholar, and his interest in the language was not limited to his press, for he founded, in 1500, an Academy of Hellenists which numbered Erasmus and Linacre among its members. In addition to the classics, he printed also the works of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, as well as those of contemporary writers. His small-format volumes were valued in his own day, and have been increasingly prized by the bibliophile. Manchester is fortunate to possess, in the John Rylands Library, a unique collection of Aldines, the extent of which is indicated in an article printed below, dealing with the Italian scholar-printer and his achievements.

LIBRARY EXHIBITIONS.

During the present year two special exhibitions have been arranged in addition to the general exhibition of *rariora*. On the occasion of a visit paid to the Library in May by the Manchester Association of the Institute of Christian Education, a selection of our biblical manuscripts was displayed in the Main Library. Both the Old Testament and the New Testament were represented and the various texts and versions shown included Gospels in Greek (eleventh century), Syriac (Peshitta, sixth century), Latin (ninth century), Arabic (c. 1300) and Armenian (A.D. 1313), and an Ethiopic version, assigned to the fifteenth century, of the Books of Enoch, Job and Kings I-IV. Apart from their textual interest, a number of the exhibits provide fine examples of the illuminator's skill; in this respect the Armenian Gospels is noteworthy for its numerous full-page miniatures, apparently the work of a Georgian artist. Among other items shown was a papyrus which has the distinction of preserving a sixth-century copy of the Nicene Creed.

From June to August a small collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books of lace-designs, the property of John Jacoby, Esq., was exhibited in one of our show-cases. These pattern-books, which are very rare, as the use of a metal style for tracing or pricking the designs usually destroyed the paper on

which they were printed, formed an interesting supplement to the exhibition in the Whitworth Gallery, during the same period, of the Jacoby-Iklé collection of lace. They included a copy of Vinciolo's " Singvliers Et Novveavx Povrtraicts ", Paris, 1612; a German edition of the same work, Strassburg, 1596; the " Teatro Delle Nobili Et Virtvose Donne " of Isabella Catanea Parasole, printed in Rome in 1616; a volume of manuscript designs; and several German pattern-books. The title-pages of the volumes are all decorated with woodcuts or engraved. As several of them depict ladies of the period actually engaged in lace-making, photostat copies of them were also exhibited.

LIBRARY LECTURES, 1949–1950.

The following public lectures (the forty-eighth series) were delivered in the Lecture Hall of the Library during the session 1949-1950 :—

Wednesday, 12th October, 1949. " The Jubilee of the John Rylands Library ", by H. B. Charlton, M.A., D. de D., Litt.D., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th November, 1949. " The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels ", by T. W. Manson, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 14th December, 1949. " The Plot of the Book of Ruth ", by E. Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., formerly Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th January, 1950. " Gervase of Chichester : a Medieval Letter-Writer ", by C. R. Cheney, M.A., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th February, 1950. " The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament ", by Harold H. Rowley, M.A., D.D., Theol.D., F.B.A., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1950. " Some Letters of St. Augustine ", by W. H. Semple, M.A., Ph.D., Hulme Professor of Latin in the University of Manchester.

LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS.

The following is a list of recent Library publications, consisting of reprints from articles which appeared in the previous number of the BULLETIN (March, 1950) :—

" The New Librarian of the John Rylands Library ", by H. B. Charlton, M.A., D. de D., Litt.D., Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, 5 pp. With portrait. (Not for sale.)

" The Jubilee of the John Rylands Library ", by H. B. Charlton. 8vo, 12 pp. Price one shilling and sixpence net.

" The Egertons in Italy and the Netherlands, 1729-1734 ", by W. H. Chaloner, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Modern Economic History in the University of Manchester. 8vo, 16 pp. Price one shilling and sixpence net.

" The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch and the Gospels ", by T. W. Manson, D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A. 8 vo, 25 pp. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

" History and the Word of God in the Old Testament ", by Professor D. Martin Noth, Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the University of Bonn. 8vo, 15 pp. Price two shillings net.

" The Plot of the Book of Ruth ", by Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., formerly Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, 24 pp. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

" Hand-List of the Legh of Booths Charters in the John Rylands Library ", by F. Taylor, M.A., Ph.D., Keeper of Manuscripts and Assistant Librarian in the John Rylands Library. 8vo. 74 pp. Price two shillings and sixpence net.

AN EXHIBITION OF EARLY MEDIEVAL ART.

An important exhibition of early medieval art, covering principally the period from 750 to 1250, was opened in July at the Prinz-Karl-Palais in Munich. All the State Libraries and State Museums and the majority of church collections in Western Germany have contributed by loaning their treasures, and the result makes possible a survey of the art of this period which could

otherwise only be obtained by visiting more than eighty different institutions. The arrangement is chronological and the exhibits cover a wide range; consular diptychs, ivories, manuscripts, jewelled bindings, woven silks, goldsmiths' work and church furniture, all are represented and by outstanding pieces. It has been possible, for example, to reassemble the entire Cathedral treasury of Bamberg in its original state and to display side by side the finest and most representative examples of manuscript illumination of these centuries. An excellent catalogue of the Exhibition, which will remain open until October, has been published under the title "Ars Sacra: Kunst des Frühen Mittelalters".

A UNESCO AGREEMENT REGARDING BOOKS.

UNESCO is sponsoring an important "Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials", the text of which was recently approved at the Organization's General Conference in Florence. The agreement is designed to restore to such materials the benefits of free trade which they enjoyed throughout most of the world before 1914 and to remove the restrictions on their international circulation. Books, for example, are subject to-day to customs duties, license systems, postal taxes and the like imposed by more than fifty countries. Governments signing the agreement will abolish duties on books, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, music scores, maps, charts and travel literature, and at the same time grant foreign currency for books and other publications for public libraries; a special article relates to materials for the blind. In addition, the free importation of paintings, drawings, sculpture, objects of art, scientific instruments and a wide range of other materials consigned to recognized institutions will be permitted. UNESCO is circulating the agreement to all its Member States and to Members of the United Nations, and it will come into force following ratification by ten countries. The United Kingdom Government has announced that it will submit the text to Parliament, and a number of other countries are expected to take quick action for legislative approval.

GIFTS TO FRENCH LIBRARIES.

Through the generosity of Phi Beta Kappa, the American academic society, and many private individuals in the United States, a valuable donation of new books, worth 1,000 dollars, was presented to the Sorbonne in March by the Deputy Director-General of UNESCO. These books represent the first consignment offered to the Sorbonne under the UNESCO-CARE Book Programme, which aims at restocking the libraries of Europe and Asia. This admirable project, launched only a year ago, has already given invaluable assistance to universities and educational centres in many parts of the world. A second generous gift, made by the people of Canada to the libraries of France, was formally presented the following month. It consists of some 6,000 volumes collected by the Canadian Council for Reconstruction, through UNESCO, from institutions and individuals throughout the Dominion. Works on both the arts and the sciences are represented, as well as books of general reference, and forty-five libraries in Paris and the provinces are to share in the distribution.

RECENT MANUSCRIPT ACCESSIONS.

Since the publication of our last issue considerable additions have been received by the Manuscript Department. Accessions to the Charter Room have been particularly extensive, and it has been necessary to equip a new room in order to house these rapidly growing collections. Recent acquisitions by gift or purchase include :—

A Book of Hours, with five miniatures. Fifteenth century. The use is Roman and the provenance French Flanders or N.E. France. (Presented by J. D. Hughes, Esq., M.A.)

"Miscellanea Theologica." Fifteenth century. Contains works of St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor, and other treatises. *Liber domus Beate Marie in Gaisdonck prope Goch* (ff. 99v., 190.)

Court Rolls of the Manor of Billingford (Eynford Hundred), co. Norfolk. 1591-1592, 1596-1599. Parchment, 6 mm.

"The Last Will and Testament of Humphrey Cheetham, Esquire." [16 Dec. 1651. Probate, 21 March, 1654.] A contemporary copy, in codex form, elaborately written,

with capitals in gold. Calf binding, stamped *MDCLXII.* (Presented by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.)

" Recueil de diverses procédures faictes contre aucuns Evesques et autres Ecclesiastiques Criminels de Lèze Majesté." Seventeenth century. The binding bears the arms of Gaspard III Fieubet de Naulac (1626-1694), *chancelier* of Queen Maria-Theresa.

" Frodsham Wardens' MS." : extracts (192 ff.) from the Account Books of the Parish of Frodsham, co. Chester, 1608-1717, in the hand of Thomas Helsby, the Cheshire historian. (Presented by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.)

" On Ecclesiastical Law ", by the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Prideaux. Holograph. Prideaux was Dean of Norwich from 1702 to 1724.

Diary, apparently of Sir Edmund Prideaux, of a journey on the Continent. Aug. 1710-May 1712.

A Pain Book of Thornthwaite, Westmorland. Seventeenth-eighteenth century. (Presented by L. H. Orford, Esq., M.A., LL.B.)

Viscount Mount-Stuart (later 1st Marquess of Bute): Consular Correspondence and Papers. 4 vols., 1776-1783. Vols. 1-3 contain some 660 letters from H.M. Consuls at Nice, Leghorn and Genoa to Mount-Stuart, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin (1779-1783, in which year he was appointed Ambassador to Spain) and the Chargés d'Affaires there; enclosures include intelligence reports from the ports of France and Spain. Vol. 4 (441 ff.) contains official copies of memorials, correspondence, confidential and other reports forwarded with his despatches, treaties and political papers, among which occur letters and papers (1781-1782) relating to the capture of Fort St. Philip, Minorca.

A Collection of Letters of the bibliophile the Rev. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, addressed to the printers John Nichols and Bowyer Nichols. Sept. 1809-Dec. 1838. 144 items.

Letters of Florence Nightingale to the architect Thomas Worthington, concerning hospital building. July 1865-Nov. 1868. 5 items. (Presented by Lady L. J. Worthington.)

Photographs of (*a*) The Robbers' Roll, preserved at Capesthorne Hall; (*b*) Six early deeds from the Leicester Warren muniments at Tabley House, Knutsford. (Presented by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., who has also kindly given to the Library a copy of his extensive and valuable Calendar of the Leicester Warren collection.)

In addition to manuscripts presented to or purchased by the Library, the following collections have been deposited :—

THE BAGSHAWE MUNIMENTS.

In April, Major F. E. G. Bagshawe, J.P., entrusted to our care the muniments of the Bagshawes of Ford, co. Derby, one of the oldest families in that county. This collection consists of family papers, estate documents, account books, deeds and records and numbers many thousands of items, dating from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth. Its outstanding feature is a mass of eighteenth-century correspondence and papers, which includes letters and military papers of Samuel Bagshawe (d. 1762), Colonel of the 93rd Regiment of Infantry, M.P. for Tallagh, co. Waterford, and Second in Command in the East Indies (1754-1756); a number of items concern Clive. Other military papers are those of General Lord John Murray (d. 1787) and Lieutenant-General William Murray (d. 1818). Some seventy bundles of letters of the Caldwell family also occur, from the time of the 1st Baronet (Sir James, d. 1777) to that of the 5th (Sir John, d. 1830), together with political pamphlets and papers of Sir James Caldwell, 4th Baronet. Account books relating to these families and their estates are numerous; among them are building accounts of Banner Cross, co. York, with the construction of which Sir Jeffry Wyatville, well known as the restorer of Windsor Castle, was associated, and records relating to lead mining in the eighteenth century. The deeds and allied documents relate mainly to Derbyshire and Yorkshire.

THE RAYMOND RICHARDS COLLECTION.

Another collection of importance has recently been deposited in the Library by Raymond Richards, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. The Raymond Richards Collection, in fact, comprises three extensive and separate entities. Firstly, the muniments (twelfth-nineteenth century) of the Sneyd family of Keele Hall, co. Stafford, one of the

largest and most complete collections of its kind. Included are early Cheshire and Staffordshire deeds, lengthy series of medieval and later court rolls, private papers, estate books and documents, and thousands of letters of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Sneyds were in close contact with many of the leading families of the country, and several well-known literary and political figures are either mentioned in the letters or occur as correspondents. Secondly, the correspondence, papers and account books (eighteenth century) of the West African trading house of the Davies Davenport family, an invaluable source for the history of the Liverpool slave trade. With these may be mentioned a collection of household, building and stewards' books of Capesthorne, the seat of the Bromley-Davenports, whose family muniments are deposited in the Library. The third large group consists of a Miscellaneous Collection (twelfth-sixteenth century), brought together by Mr. Richards from various sources. It numbers some 2,000 items, mainly relating to Cheshire, including charters dating from the twelfth century onwards. As the Raymond Richards Collection has only recently been entrusted to our care, it is not possible, until a further examination has been made, to do full justice to it, but it is hoped to publish further details in our next issue.

PRINTED BOOKS: ACQUISITIONS BY PURCHASE.

During the past six months fifteen examples of English printing before 1640 have been acquired, two of them, although fragmentary, being of unusual interest. One consists of the greater part of the first sheet (title-page and calendar) of a Sarum "Horae", printed by Hamman, at Venice, in 1494. Only fragments of this edition are recorded, and Duff (181) states that the beginning is unknown. The other is part of a sheet containing Breviary hymns, printed in a type of Julian Notary (Duff 1), probably early in the sixteenth century; the work of which this forms part appears to be unrecorded.

The collection of books on the local history of the Northern counties has been strengthened by the purchase of many older books, and additions have been made to the section of printed

parish registers, already considerable. Special attention is being given to the acquisition of works essential for the study of the Library's manuscript collections, and to the palæographical section have been added such volumes as Swarzenski's "Regensburger Buchmalerei" and Omont's "Catalogue des manuscrits grecs à Fontainebleau", as well as less closely related works like Audsley's "Ornamental arts of Japan".

Considerable progress has been made in overtaking arrears, due to the war, in various Continental series. Amongst those recently brought up to date are "Analecta Vaticano-Belgica", "Inscriptiones Italiae", and "Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft".

Several important archæological works have been acquired, of especial interest being Andrews's "Wall paintings from ancient shrines of Central Asia, recovered by Sir Aurel Stein", Macadam's "Temples of Kawa", and Doro Levi's "Antioch mosaic pavements".

A list is appended of the many donors, both individual and institutional, to whom the Library is indebted for generous gifts of books.

ACQUISITIONS BY GIFT.

Mr. Richard Hawkin, of Darwen, has presented a small collection, formed by him over a period of forty years, of books on Anarchism, several of which are now of great rarity. From Mr. Archibald Sparke, M.A., late Chief Librarian of Bolton, came a collection of his own bibliographical works, together with two rare histories of the town, while Mr. J. S. Hardman, a Governor of the Library, gave 27 volumes, mainly dealing with the antiquities of Egypt. A most interesting and valuable gift from Mr. J. D. Hughes, M.A., is a copy of the rare first issue of Bradshaw's Railway Guide. A collection of photographs, the work of the late E. J. Günther of Didsbury, has been presented to the Library by his executors. The photographs, enlargements measuring about 14 in. by 12 in. mounted on stiff paper, include many of English Cathedral exteriors and interiors, and are contained in 29 large packages.

Of institutional gifts two of the most important were those from the Librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, who

presented eight volumes of catalogues of manuscripts, etc., and from the Librarian of the University Library, Uppsala, whose gift included 14 volumes of " Arbeten utgivna med understod av Vilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond ". From the Universities of Groningen, Utrecht and Basel the Library has also received substantial gifts of books.

During the first half of 1950 the following donors have made valuable gifts to the Library :—

Individual Donors.

Major F. E. G. Bagshawe, J.P. [4].
Professor C. C. Bayley.
Mrs. Bradshaw.
Mrs. H. Broxap [5].
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Societies and Institutions.

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Aberdeen University Library.
Aberystwyth—National Library of Wales [4].
Aberystwyth—University College of Wales.
American Woman Suffrage Association.
Bacon Society.
Basel University [25].
Birmingham—Selly Oak Colleges Library.
British Academy.
Canada—Public Archives.
Canterbury—Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.
Carey Kingsgate Press, Ltd.
Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.
Chicago—Newberry Library.
Chicago University—Oriental Institute.
Cincinnati—Hebrew Union College.
Copenhagen—Library of the Museum of Decorative Art.
Copenhagen—Royal Library [2].
Copenhagen University [6].
Cornell University Library.
Damascus—Académie Arabe.
Dunblane—Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral [5].
French Embassy, London.
Gale and Polden, Ltd.
Glasgow University.
Groningen University [15].
Guildford—School of Arts and Crafts [4].
Halle University Library [6].
Heidelberg University Library [4].
Helsinki University.
Illinois University Library [4].
Ismaili Society, Bombay [2].
Jerusalem—Jewish National and University Library.
Kansas University.
Kentucky University Library [16].
Lancashire—County Record Office [2].
Leiden—Nederlandsch Archæologisch-Philosophisch Institut.

London—Corporation.
London—Institute of Historical Research.
Lund University Library.
Madrid—Biblioteca Nacional [8].
Manchester Geographical Society.
Michigan University [9].
Michigan University—William L. Clements Library.
Ministry of Education.
München—Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [4].
New South Wales—Premier's Office.
New York—Pierpont Morgan Library.
New York University [17].
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Oregon University.
Oxford University Press, London [3].
Pennsylvania University.
Pilgrim Trust.
Pontificium Athenæum Lateranense [2].
W. H. Robinson, Ltd.
Saint Domingo University [2].
Sheffield—Public Libraries.
Sheffield University.
Singapore, Colony of—Government.
Stockholm—Royal Library [3].
Swedenborg Society.
Texas University—Institute of Latin-American Studies [2].
United States of America—National Archives.
Uppsala University [20].
Utrecht University Library [22].
Vatican Library.
Vienna—Nationalbibliothek.
Vienna—Oesterreichische Akademie.
Virginia University.
Joseph F. Wagner, Inc.
Washington—Library of Congress [3].
Washington—Smithsonian Institution [2].
West Indies University College Library.
Yale University Library.
Zürich—Antiquarische Gesellschaft.

A MANUSCRIPT SOURCE OF THE BOOK OF ST. ALBANS

By A. L. BINNS, B.A.

LECTURER IN ENGLISH, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, HULL

IN[1] his *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* Mr. H. S. Bennett says that the *Book of St. Albans* is reputed to be the work of Dame Juliana Berners, but that much of it is taken from Twici's *L'Art de Venerie* (c. 1320) and from other treatises which have not been traced.[2] The book of fishing in the later versions of BSA has been satisfactorily accounted for,[3] but it is not part of the BSA of 1486, and the hunting treatises remain untraced. It is the purpose of this article to discuss two manuscripts, Lambeth 491 (L) and Rawlinson Poet. 143 (R), which represent the other treatises to which Mr. Bennett refers. Neither of them has been printed, nor has their significance been mentioned, and they serve not only to illuminate the origins of BSA, but to make sense of some passages in it. These passages are, as they stand, nonsense, and must have seemed so to any medieval audience informed in hunting convention.

The more important of the two is MS. L. On ff. 287-290 is to be found a poem on hunting, written in couplets divided occasionally into stanzas by shorter lines. The poem contains:

[1] L MS. Lambeth 491 (unprinted).
R MS. Rawlinson Poet. 143 (unprinted). This is the manuscript referred to by Blades, and quoted by him from Warton's *History of English Poetry*.
BSA *Book of St. Albans* published in facsimile by W. Blades, London, 1906.
TF *Art de Venerie* of Twici, ed. A. Dryden, Daventry, 1843.
TE Amplification of Twici in English, from MS. Cotton Vespasian B XII, ed. T. Wright in *Reliquae Antiquae*, London, 1841-1843.
MG *Master of Game*, ed. W. A. Baillie-Grohmann, London, 1904.
CV *Craft of Venery*, printed in TF above.
GGK *Sire Gauvain et le chevalier vert*, ed. E. Pons, Paris, 1946.

[2] P. 198.

[3] By Dr. E. F. Jacob in Vol. 28 of the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1944.

(*a*) A catalogue of the beasts of venery.
(*b*) The correct names for the hart at different ages.
(*c*) Collective nouns for various animals.
(*d*) The character of the hare.
(*e*) Instructions for carrying out the halow.
(*f*) Directions how to hunt the hare.
(*g*) Directions how to cut up the hart.

This is the content of Twici's *L'Art de Venerie*, and, more significantly, of the English amplification of his work in Cotton Vespasian B XII. The importance of the Lambeth version is that it seems to be the earliest metrical treatment of the English Twici. The manuscript has been dated palaeographically 1400-1450.[1] It presents a version of the poem which appears from another text in BSA's Book of Hunting in 1486, and is in some ways a better text of the original than that which the printer seems to have had before him.

The correspondence between L and BSA is rarely word for word, and from all the extant versions (L, R and BSA) it appears that the original language was more northern, and perhaps eastern, in character than the forms of the extant texts. This is particularly clear in L. The readings of R often support L in places where L departs from BSA. R has sometimes been considered (as by Blades) a careless copy from BSA. This cannot be so ; it preserves the correct reading in places where BSA has an error or omits a couplet. It resembles BSA more closely than does L, and includes much which is in BSA but not in L. But it does not include the full version of the master-man dialogue found in BSA. This dialogue seems not to have been part of the manuscript tradition. In its content R represents a stage intermediate between L and BSA in that process of amplification of TE which led to BSA. The scribe was a southerner who often changed original forms necessary for rhyme (for example in rhyming *takes*, originally *tas*, with *has*), but preserved some (*ga* rhyming with *sa* in the French *sa amy sa*, as well as *go* rhyming with *so*).

[1] The author's thanks are due to the Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library for this information, and to Professor G. L. Brook for kindly reading this article in typescript.

L preserves some lines which have been lost in BSA :

BSA E5 :

Iff hit be in the tyme of the corne grene
And iff yowre houndes chace wel at yowre wille
Then iii motis shul ye blow booth lowde and shille.

Lambeth 491 f. 289r :

If it be in tyme whan *the corn is grene*
And if your houndis of her find wel that ye se
Than sey la douce la il ad este
And therwith sohow
On highte and not lowe
That is to sey the swete there she hath bene
When thei fynd of her wel whil *the corn is grene*
And if yor houndis chace not wele at yor wille
Than thre motys shul ye blaw lowd and not stille.

Everything between the two lines ending in *the corn is grene* has been omitted in BSA ; and the sense has been completely reversed by the disappearance of " not " from " not wele at yor wille." Whether this had already taken place in the exemplar from which BSA was set up or took place in the composition, one has no means of determining. R has the passage intact with one or two verbal variations. It is noteworthy that in L the text is not divided by sub-headings, and that many of the omissions in BSA are to be found associated with these sub-headings. Perhaps the manuscript from which BSA was set up was a fuller text than the printed version would suggest.

BSA E 1v.

The VI yere calle ye hym an hert
Doth so my child wylis ye been in quart
TO KNAW THE HEAD OF AN HERT THAT IS DYVERSE
And of the horny (*sic*) that he then berith abowte
The fyrst hede shalle be jugget wythowte.

L f. 287r.

The VI yeer have he ywert[1]
Than calle hym an hert
He shall be non hert tul the sixt yeer
And if ye speke ferther of the same dere
And of the hornys he than berith abowte
The first shal be by iuggement withowt.

[1] R here reads as L except " have he quert " for " have he ywert ". The use of *quert* except in the phrase *in quert* (used elsewhere in these texts) is most

BSA cannot be derived directly from L, or from any other manuscript very like it, as it contains material, probably original, which is omitted in L, as well as additions of non-original matter. Some, but not all, of these additions are found in R, and in the last passage quoted above the R reading provides a possible origin for that found in BSA. An instance a few lines later shows a loss of meaning typical of the minor deviations of BSA from L and R:

BSA:

> And *that* in the toppe so when ye may him keen

L and R:

> And *two* in the top so when ye may hem ken

In one instance this deviation has come near creating an extra sense for "skirt" since BSA was one of the texts used in the compilation of N.E.D. On signature F iii BSA has:

> Than shall ye kyt the skyrtis the teeth even fro
> And after the ragge bone cuttis even also,

Where L has:

> Than shul ye skirtis the thies evyn fro
> And after the rigge bone kyttith also,

NED s.v. Skirt noun, after discussing senses 1-5, gives the above reference to BSA, with the comment "sense obscure." If we supply "cut" in L, L and R agree in a use which falls under 6, "The diaphragm or midriff of an animal." As well as fitting the context, the LR reading agrees better with the stage of dismemberment of which the poem is treating at this point.

Again, we find on signature F iiii of BSA:

> The toong the brayn the paunch and the necke
> When they washe be weelle with water of the becke
> The smale guttis to the lightis in the derys.

L, f. 290v.:

> The tung & the brayn the paunch & the nek
> Whan thei wesshyn are wele wt water of the bek
> The smale guttis therto the lightis & the eris.

unusual. Perhaps *ywert* is original (cf. NED s.v. Wear v. I.V. sense 17; the transitive use with periods of time is there well illustrated). But certainly the BSA reading is to be connected with the R type rather than with the L.

" The eris " of L and R is probably a form of " the neris " produced by incorrect word division, and the attribution of the *n* to the preceding article (cf. Modern English *adder* beside earlier *nadder*). The kidneys certainly associate more naturally with offal than do the ears. L is at any rate nearer to the correct reading than is BSA, which has smoothed out the difficulty. Though there are other divergences, the above may serve to indicate the nature of the relationship between L and BSA.

Unfortunately L is not a complete text. It was for some time the back of the volume in which it was bound, presumably that containing the *Awntyrs of Arthur* which now precedes it. It forms part of the last gathering of the *Awntyrs*, and the coloured margin shows as an offset on the verso of f. 286. The verso of folio 290 is badly rubbed, but at the foot of the page " the quirre " can be made out as catchword, and the poem is likely to have contained at least the complete instructions for the dissection of deer. As that section closes the BSA hunting treatise, one cannot say that it contained anything more.

The basic material of these hunting manuals is common to all of them, but our texts (L, R and BSA) have this material in exactly the same order, an order which is not shared by any of the other manuals (TF, TE, CV). BSA contains additional sections inserted into the middle of the LR material, some of them making a substantial passage in dialogue. Four of these sections may be part of the manuscript tradition, as they occur in R as well as in BSA. The rest are probably not part of the original poem. The difference in content between L, R and BSA does not seem to be merely arbitrary, or simply a result of bad copying. Corresponding to BSA page Eviii :

> Bot bring hem to the kychyn to the lordis mete
> *And of this ilke hare speke we no mare*
> Now to speke of the bestis

L has

> But bring hem home to the kychyn to the lordis mete
> Now to speke of the hare how al shal be wroght.

L has omitted the transitional phrase italicised; the text is in fact going on to speak of the hare in giving details of how to hunt it, neglecting the eight passages which intervene in BSA.

These are " Which beestes shal be flayn and which stripte," " The discreyving of a bucke," " Of the roobucke." The version in L has more continuity, and R, in which the transitional phrase is also found, has only a short passage intervening. It is, however, too large an assumption that the omission of the couplet in L must be due to a regard for consistency. The line which follows in both versions begins " Now to speke of the," and the loss of the transition and intervening matter is more plausibly to be ascribed to bad copying. But it is odd that the mistake should lead so smoothly to the next relevant passage. Anyone attempting a versified abstract of TE might well decide that, having described the successive ages and names of the hart, it was unnecessary for him to do the same for buck and roebuck, and better to get on to the chase of the hare. This would seem to be in place immediately after, if indeed not before, the instructions for the ritual of dissecting a captured hare. First catch your hare.

Next in BSA is a dialogue between a huntsman and his master, not, as in the original material, between " yor dame " and " my sonys." As well as this difference of framework there is a difference of language, at any rate negative, since no false rhymes are to be found in this section. It deals with some points not covered in the rest of the text, but with repetition ; it is an independent rather than a complementary selection from the traditional information. Taking all this into account, and particularly its absence in large part from R and its complete absence from L, it seems reasonable to consider it not as part of the original poem but as an addition inserted as relevant to the matter in hand. At the end of one of its paragraphs is the couplet :

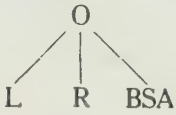
> " My dere sonys bolde
> Say of game thus I yow tolde."

This is a tag such as might easily be appended from the other part of the poem ; the content of the paragraph duplicates some earlier lines.

II

What then are the relationships of L, R and BSA to one another ? BSA cannot be derived from L or R alone, but the

common source of L and R would provide an origin for BSA, apart from the master-man dialogue, which is complete in itself and has come from some other tradition. And the origin of this source (O) can be worked out in fair detail from a study of the other hunting manuals which survive. The suggested relationship is shown below.



The origin for L, R and BSA which has been postulated here is an English metrical compilation based on those English versions of Twici of which TE is a late representative. It is based on such a tradition rather than on T at first hand, for it quotes no French which is not to be found in TE, and much which is in that but not in TF. The resemblance to TE is close enough to supply a word missing in the Cotton Vespasian manuscript. Corresponding to the section on the hare in TE: " For he shall not be gladly there as he has pasturid him but if it be in time of and afterward if that any hound find hym or any musyng where he hath been."

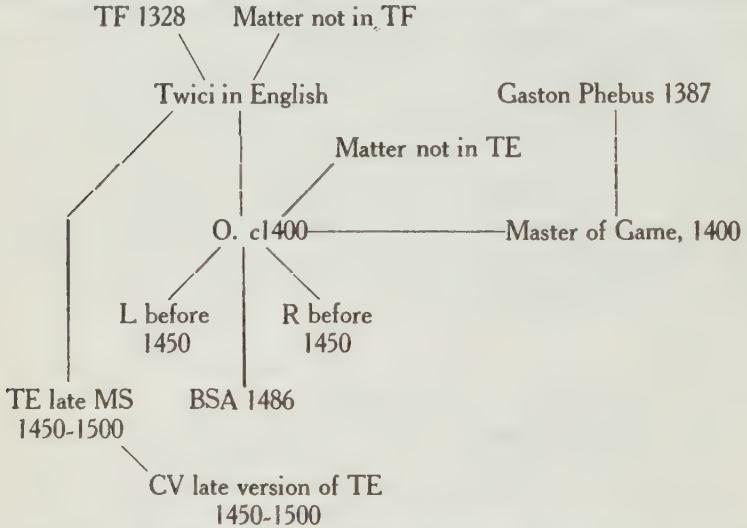
L reads:

> For gladly to be is her not lefe
> There as she hath pasturid but in tyme of *relefe*
> And if any hound fynd or musyng of her make
> Ther as she hath been and she be gone fro that place.

BSA, characteristically, has the same reading as L, but omits " but " reversing the sense once more.

The compilation should be located in the northern half of the country, scarcely near St. Albans. The scribe of L has substituted southern forms in places, sometimes at the expense of rhyme, as he did in the preceding poem in the manuscript where he was certainly copying a northern exemplar. He is therefore not likely to be responsible for the northern element in the language. Nor, since it is present in L and R, as well as in BSA, can it be attributed to the printer, as it was by Blades in his facsimile of 1906. " If the hunting rhymes belong to Dame Julyan their orthography is that of the schoolmaster who appears

to have been a northcountryman." The northern element is likely to be original, as our extant texts are independent. None of them can be a copy of any other, and it is unlikely that they are direct copies of their common source, so wide are the differences between them. When to this is added the evidence of the rhymes, which often demand northern forms, it seems that the original must be sought in Lincolnshire or further north. This is rather a minimum specification for the source of BSA than a description, but L and R enable one to begin working back with confidence. The following stemma is an attempt to reduce to diagrammatic form what may not be susceptible of accurate representation, a matter of loans between traditions, not texts.



Blades in 1906 attributed the BSA book of hunting to Juliana Barnes, with reservations about the other books. It is at the end of this book that " Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes " (the only form of the name in BSA) is found. The equation between Barnes and Berners was first made by Chauncey in 1700 ; it depends on his (true) assertion that Berners was often spelt Barnes. Though Blades, probably correctly, rejected it, the equation has its attractions, for many of the occurrences of Berners as a name are in Lincolnshire. If Juliana Berners is to be the authoress of the book of hunting, it would be better to make her an inhabitant of Lincolnshire, rather than Essex, as do Chauncey and Haslewood. The work to which the St. Albans printer attached her

name exists in three stages. With which is she to be connected? And is the view of these stages as a progressive amplification of an early verse treatise correct? The first question can scarcely be firmly answered. The printer's version differed from the others in its complete master-man dialogue. This addition may have been her share, though its presence in part in the R version rather tells against any such attribution. To decide the second question one must look further afield.

III

One text remains to be considered, *The Master of Game* translated from the French of Gaston Phebus, Comte de Foix, by Edward, second Duke of York, who was killed in 1415. It contains a description of hare-hunting which, though in prose, often employs the same words as BSA which did not appear until 1486. As between BSA and MG there could be no question about which borrowed from the other. But the relationship of L and R to MG is not so clear. Neither seems to be particularly near to the source which they had in common, and they show that in the period 1400-1450 the BSA verse account already existed.

The readings of only two of the nineteen manuscripts of *The Master of Game* are in print, but it appears from Baillie-Grohmann's introduction to his edition that the others are unlikely to provide a fuller text than the two at present available. The resemblance between the chapter in MG on hare-hunting and the version of L, R and BSA, is so close and sustained that some relationship is the only possible explanation. The available texts of MG do not present a satisfactory origin for L, R and BSA. Many of the French quotations are present only in garbled or much shortened forms, and the hare-hunting material is in one of the six additional chapters, which have no origin in Gaston Phebus, and were added by Edward. Moreover, a prose treatise is likely to have been versified earlier than the fifteenth century. Baillie-Grohmann says in his edition of MG, "The chapter in our MS. on hare-hunting is very similar to that in the Twety-Gifford manuscript (that is, TE) and to the *Book of St. Albans.*" Later he concludes, "One can but think that they (MG and BSA) must both have been derived from the same source." It seems

at least possible that a slightly earlier copy of L was the source about which he speculated. In that case the versified TE had already reached the L form when Edward added it to the end of his completed translation, and, by doing so, contradicted his earlier chapter on the hare.

The contention of Professor Pons[1] in his edition of GGK that the hunting scenes are purely literary has been disputed.[2] But such a poem as the original of L, R and BSA would provide quite enough information for such scenes, and treatises of this kind were evidently devoured with enthusiasm.[3]

Whether a didactic poem satisfactorily explains the author's attitude must remain doubtful, and many may think it does not. It should be recognized however, that there is nothing in the poet's technical description which could not have come from books. Perhaps it is not without significance that in the Lambeth manuscript, there is attached to one such romance, the *Awntyrs of Arthur*, a popular exposition of the terms of the chase which is derived, not from experience but from another manual over a century older.

NOTE.—In Aubrey's "Lives" (ed. Clark, Vol. I, p. 311) there is mention of what seems to be a third manuscript. "At Wilton is a good library which Mr. Christopher Wase can give you the best account. . . . There is a MS. writt by Dame Marian of hunting and hawking in English verse, written in King Henry the 8ths time (quaere Mr. Christopher Wase farther)."

Dame Marian may well be a mistake for Dame Juliana; this name, and the joining of further material, suggest that this MS. is to be considered an intermediary stage between L, R and BSA. The dating of it by Aubrey of course suggests that it was a manuscript copy of BSA, and we know that such copies of early printed books were not uncommon. But if the whole of BSA had been present in the MS. which he saw, it seems likely that Aubrey would not have omitted mention of the heraldic material. I have not been able to trace this MS. though it probably still survives. Though it is not certain that it will represent any independent version when found, it does at any rate show the continuing interest in the subject, if the matter of Twici was being hand-copied in the reign of Henry VIII.

[1] "Il est presque certain que notre passage (ll. 1341-1365) a une source livresque," *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[2] As by Professor Savage in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 47, p. 49: "He (*the poet*) had lived through what he related."

[3] CV has no direct bearing on the development of BSA but it shows that, at the very end of the fourteenth century, there was still room for a new and independent re-working into English of Twici. We recall that Harry Bailey preferred such instruction to moral lessons: "Sir, sey somwhat of hunting, I yow preye."

GERVASE, ABBOT OF PRÉMONTRÉ: A MEDIEVAL LETTER-WRITER[1]

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THE career and writings of Gervase, abbot of Prémontré, have passed unnoticed in modern times by historians who might have found them instructive. Yet he was a fairly important figure in ecclesiastical affairs during the first decades of the thirteenth century. English by birth, he joined the Order of Prémontré as a canon of the abbey of St. Just, in the diocese of Beauvais, before the end of the twelfth century. In course of time he became abbot of this house, then abbot of Thenailles, in the diocese of Laon, and in February 1209 abbot of Prémontré itself and president of the whole Order. After he had occupied this position for eleven years, he was provided by Pope Honorius III to the bishopric of Séez, in Normandy. He died in possession of this see in 1228, and was buried in a Premonstratensian abbey in the diocese.

A few bibliographers and monastic historians have described this man in the course of the last three hundred years or so: most of them call him Gervase of Chichester or, by obvious corruption, Gervase of Chester.[2] But while there is no doubt

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 11th of January, 1950.

[2] He is described as of Chichester in *Hist. litt. de la France*, xviii. 41-50 (by Danou); *Gallia christiana nova*, xi (1894), 693—but not in *Gallia christiana*, xi (1759), 693; T. Wright, *Biographia britannica literaria*, ii (1846), 448; C. U. J. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources . . . bio-bibliog.* (1905), i. 1765; A. Molinier, *Sources de l'hist. de France*, iii (1903), no. 2222; *Lexicon für Theol. und Kirche*, ed. M. Buchberger (Freiburg, 1932), iv. 448.

L. Goovaerts, *Ecrivains, artistes et savants de l'ordre de Prémontré* (1899-1902), i. 305, describes him as of the diocese of Lincoln or of Chichester; so also A. Zák, 'Episcopatus Ord. Praem.', *Analecta praemonstratensia*, iv (1928), 303.

Jacques Le Long, *Bibliotheca sacra* (1723), ii. 743, describes him as 'Gervasius, Anglus, Cestriensis'.

about his christian name and while his nationality is fairly certain,[1] there is no shred of evidence of a cognomen such as Chichester. According to an eighteenth-century historian of the Premonstratensians, C. L. Hugo, Gervase came of a noble family of Lincoln, or Lincolnshire.[2] The name of Chichester has arisen from the confusion of two separate persons, and the result has been to foist on to the Premonstratensian Gervase not only the name but also the writings of another man.

For there was a Gervase of Chichester known to the literary historian. Not much is known about him, to be sure, but a substantial basis lies beneath the elegant and fanciful account given by Pits and the rest of the tribe of bibliographers. The facts are these. One Master Gervase of Chichester appears as a clerk of Thomas Becket, when Thomas was King Henry II's chancellor, about 1158-1160.[3] He is briefly described by Herbert of Bosham, Becket's biographer, as a young man among the *eruditi Sancti Thome*.[4] A mutilated manuscript in the British Museum contains works of his written, so he says, late in life.[5] They consist of a commentary on the prophet Malachi concerning the instruction of the priesthood, and portions of homilies on St. Thomas Becket. Our next informant is the expert on books whom Henry VIII employed, John Leland, who devotes a rather flowery notice to Gervase of Chichester and mentions

[1] The chronicle of St. Evroul describes him as English ; so also the epitaph recorded on his tomb in the abbey of Silly (Ord. Vitalis, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. A. Prévost, v (1855), 165 and *Gallia christiana*, xi. 693). J. Le Paige, *Bibliotheca praemonstratensis ordinis* (Paris, 1633), p. 925, states that Gervase composed the epitaph.

[2] ' origine Lincolniensis, sanguine clarus ' (C. L. Hugo, *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica* (Etival, 1725), i. praefatio). Hugo cites at a later point in his account of Gervase ' Vita Gervas. MSS. Viconien.'. I have found no other mention of this work ; Vicoigne was a Prem. abbey whose manuscripts chiefly passed to the neighbouring town of Valenciennes. It is noticeable that Hugo does not repeat the reference to ' Lincolniensis ' in referring to Gervase in his later work, *Sacri et canonici ord. praem. annales* (Nancy, 1734-1736). On Hugo, who was abbot of Etival (d. 1730), see *Analecta praem.*, i. 174-186, 261-285.

[3] *Rec. des actes de Henri II*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger (1909-1927), i. 199, 323 ; cf. *Chron. Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (Rolls series), iv. 195, 345, 346, 365.

[4] *Materials for hist. of Th. Becket* (Rolls series), iii. 527.

[5] Royal MS. 3 B. x.

the commentary and the homilies, having seen them (perhaps in this very manuscript) at Gloucester Abbey. He says that he has seen elsewhere (if his memory is accurate) a commentary by Gervase on the Psalms.[1] On this foundation John Bale wrote a biography of Gervase for his *Scriptorum illustrium catalogus*,[2] and this was later embellished by Pits.[3] Bale credited Gervase definitely with the commentary on the Psalms about which Leland was doubtful, although he cited no authority other than Leland. He added to the book-list *alia plura*, presumably on the assumption that if a man wrote so much as was recorded, he probably wrote some more besides. Pits went further and added a fresh work: on the institution of the priesthood; but this is merely making two works out of the commentary on Malachi. The lengthening of the book-list becomes relevant to the present subject when we find both the name and the books transferred by some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars, in their less scholarly moments, from Thomas Becket's clerk to the thirteenth-century abbot of Prémontré.

The first stage in the confusion may have been reached in the seventeenth century. For in 1633 Jean Le Paige, describing Abbot Gervase in his *Bibliotheca praemonstratensis ordinis*, says that he wrote 'epistolas ad diversos, homilias aliquot ut erat ecclesiastes egregius. Item et breves Commentarios in Psalmos et Minores Prophetas.' While we have no trace of so many writings by Gervase,[4] he doubtless preached sermons,[5] and he may very well have composed some short commentaries. But Le Paige's list is strongly reminiscent of Bale; and the catalogue by Bale of 'Homelias aliquot' and 'In Malachiam commentarios . . . In Psalmos Davidis' must surely raise the question: had Le Paige any independent authority for fathering such writings

[1] J. Leland, *Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis* (Oxford, 1709), ch. 187.

[2] *Script. ill. maioris Brytanniæ catalogus* (Basel, 1557-1559), ii. 206.

[3] J. Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus anglicis*, i (Paris, 1619), 224.

[4] Hugo, *Annales*, i. 18-19, says that he had looked everywhere for these works but in vain. Similarly, Lienhart Georgius (*Spiritus literarius norbertinus* (Augsburg, 1771), ii. 237-238): 'qui an adhuc extent, an temporum iniuria perierint definire nolim'. The *Lexicon für Theol. und Kirche* (*ut sup.*) says of these works: 'nur handschriftl.'. All references seem to lead back to Le Paige.

[5] Cf. ep. 38 in Hugo's *Monumenta*. Following references to the printed letters are to this edition.

on Abbot Gervase? The answer seems to me doubtful. In any case, almost all who have mentioned the abbot thereafter have copied Le Paige. Le Long went further in 1723 by conflating what he found in Le Paige and in Leland.[1]

II

The one certain literary production of Gervase, the abbot of Prémontré, is his letters. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (not for the first or last time) the epistolary art was practised by high ecclesiastics very extensively. The letter to a friend was the form commonly chosen for a light essay, a sermon, a factual account of a battle, or a philosophical treatise, or a display of literary fireworks about nothing in particular. The technique of letter-writing developed on definite lines laid down in contemporary works on *dictamen*, and even the business-correspondence of prelates obeyed its rules. The letters of Abbot Gervase which survive are of this last sort. They contain good doctrine, no doubt; but most of them were not written primarily for edification. They occasionally include passing comments on personal matters, such as the abbot's state of health; but there is nothing in them that is intimate or tender. Every one of the letters, even though it obeys the fashion of filling out plain statements with rhetorical tropes, dealt with some practical problem which necessarily engaged the energies of Gervase as the father-abbot of a great monastic Order, concerned to control and defend dependencies which ranged from Börglum in Jutland to Brindisi in Apulia, and from Ireland to the Holy Land.

The letters interest the historian to-day mainly for the light which they throw on the Premonstratensians in the thirteenth

[1] The confusion is undeniably evident in Le Long's work (*ut sup.*). He cites Le Paige as authority for Gervase's authorship of commentaries on the Psalms, Isaiah, and minor prophets and refers to Leland for the commentary on Malachi. Danou (*loc. cit.*, p. 43) attributes to the abbot the commentary on Malachi, but adds uneasily: 'Il se pourrait que ce livre fût d'un autre personnage du même nom, d'un Gervais de Chester, contemporain et ami de Thomas Bekket'. Wright pointed out the error, though he retained the name of Gervase of Chichester (*op. cit.*, ii. 448, cf. 217). Stubbs exposed the confusion thoroughly in *Hist. Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, i (Rolls series, 1879), xxxiii–xxxvi.

century, and on the political and ecclesiastical history of the time. They may have survived, however, for another reason. When Gervase was still abbot of Prémontré, in 1218, a canon of the house whom he employed as secretary or amanuensis made a collection, including perhaps a hundred of Gervase's letters. This collection received additions which belong to the abbot's last two years of office and which, with letters found elsewhere, bring the total to 118. The collected letters are not in chronological order and often lack evidence of date, but those written by Gervase all belong to the time of his abbatiate at Prémontré (1209-1220), and most of them to the years 1216-1219. We are so often presented with medieval collections of letters without knowing how or why they were formed, that the letter with which Gervase's secretary prefaced his collection is of special interest. The disciple seems to regard his master's letters as a monument rather to literary skill than to pastoral and administrative activity.[1]

To his beloved and worthy to be loved friend and former comrade, Simon, canon of St. Mary of St. Eloi-Fontaine,[2] brother Hugh, least of the brethren of Prémontré, sends his greeting, his prayers (for the little they are worth), and his love.

When formerly you and I, as youths, passed on from the pagan tales of the secular schools to study a superior philosophy and took the habit of religion in different monasteries, it happened that after my probation was over and I had made profession and vowed stability in the monastery and become a canon, I was often summoned by my most revered and dear father Dom Gervase, who begot me through the Gospel, to write down in his presence the letters which he composed (*dictabat*); for, as you know, I was accustomed to the practice of penmanship (*scribendi usum*) from childhood. I relished these letters, albeit incapable of discriminating between them, and I had heard from several people that many commended my abbot for his style of speech and of writing (*dictandi*). For these reasons I have put together some letters composed (*dictatas*) by him and written by me, and some others which were before my time and which I lately found thrown aside; so that just as he was the pious teacher and kindly instructor of my youth, so I, if God grant it, might be his humble and diligent imitator both in way of life and in art of writing (*dictandi scientia*).

But since I should not deem complete any pleasure of mine which you did not share, I have decided to send you the collection I have made, together with a *Summa de stylo romani dictaminis* produced, so it is said, by Pope Gregory VIII of holy memory, and another *Summa*, entitled Master Transmundus' *De arte dictandi*—books which my abbot got for me; so that, tasting, you may approve,

[1] Hugo, *Monumenta*, i. 1. On the texts of the collected letters see Appendix I below.

[2] Arrouasian abbey of regular canons, canton of Chauny, arrond. of Laon.

if you relish what has been already tasted and approved by my hungry self. Admittedly, you may, with the satiety which comes from the discrimination of an unusual intelligence, regard as Abellanian nuts what I, in my hunger, account as precious delicacies. You must know, however, that I have thought fit to slip into this little book some letters sent to my abbot, not so much because their style was elegant as because their senders were important. Therefore I beg you, out of a feeling of intimate friendship and at the risk of forfeiting it, treat carefully this collection which several people have already seen (who, having read it in part, wish to read it through and perhaps transcribe it); keep it properly and return it soon; lest, if it fell out otherwise, David might be obliged to care no more for Jonathan, or—to address you according to the fables of the pagans—Theseus might abjure Pirithous, Pilades ignore Orestes, Tydeus forget Polynices.[1] Farewell, excellent brother, and may these works I send you so work on the mind of the reader that they will be found to have brought profit to his soul, since, when you are engrossed in them, you will forget the world you have forsaken.

Dated at Prémontré in the year of grace 1218, not long after the feast of St. John the Baptist.

The interest of this letter needs no underlining, showing as it does something of the abbot's way of working, the distinction between *dictare* and *scribere*,[2] the compilation and circulation of an epistolary collection, to say nothing of the literary style of the secretary himself. The treatises on *dictamen* which Abbot Gervase had procured for Canon Hugh were two fairly recent and very famous works on the subject, which represented the teaching dominant in Rome and the French schools. Transmundus was a papal notary who flourished in the 1180's, while Gregory VIII (Albert de Morra), for nine years before he became pope in 1187, was chancellor to his three immediate predecessors. There was perhaps an additional reason why his work should be studied at Prémontré, for he is thought to have been himself a Premonstratensian canon.[3]

Abbot Gervase had certainly taken the lessons of these authors to heart. He handles words with great skill and says what he wants to say fluently and forcefully. His literary style is a trifle

[1] 'Thideus nesciat Pollicidem': so Caillieu's text. Hugo's text reads 'Thisbe nesciat Pyramum', which is less satisfactory. The reference is probably to Statius, Thebaidos, 9, 35 *seqq*.

[2] Cf. IV Lateran Council ch. 18: 'Nec quisquam clericus literas dictet aut scribat pro vindicta sanguinis destinandas.'

[3] See F. Petit, *La spiritualité des Prémontrés aux* 12^e^ *et* 13^e^ *siècles* (Etudes de théol. et d'hist. de la spiritualité, ed. E. Gilson and A. Combes, tome x, Paris, 1947), pp. 81-82.

less portentous than that of his secretary—F. Petit calls him ' un styliste délicat '[1]—but it is similar in character and obeys the rules of the gregorian *cursus*. His diction is characteristic of his age and circumstances in the free borrowing of biblical expressions ; he seldom refers explicitly to other literary sources.[2]

III

The subject which dominates the correspondence is the government of the Premonstratensian Order. The Order was founded by St. Norbert, nearly ninety years before Gervase became fourteenth abbot of the parent-house. It was an Order of regular canons, who lived a monastic life, possessing their property in common, but who were prepared to undertake the ministry of parishes and were much concerned with missions. Like most of the monastic reforms of the early Middle Ages, it had started in France, but its outward spread was rapid. Norbert himself carried it to the frontiers of Germany and the Slav lands, and others planted Premonstratensian houses in all the regions newly organized in the Latin Church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—in Sweden, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Hungary, Greece, and Palestine. The constitution of the Order provided that abbots should attend annual General Chapters at Prémontré and be subject to visitation by representatives of the abbot of Prémontré. The second half of the twelfth century had been the period of greatest expansion. Gervase had probably joined the Order himself when it was at the height of its popularity in England. Of thirty English houses of Premonstratensian canons which existed when he ceased to be abbot, nineteen had been founded within the past forty years. But in the first decade of the thirteenth century (between 1203 and 1209) Prémontré had been ruled by corrupt and inefficient abbots, who had lowered the prestige of the Order.[3]

It fell to Abbot Gervase to remedy this. He had to restore

[1] See F. Petit, *La spiritualité des Prémontrés aux 12e et 13e siècles*, p. 279.

[2] He twice quotes Horace's epistles : I. 2. 40 (ut ait Philosophus) in ep. 13 and I. 18. 84 (verbum illud Ethnicum sed et ethicum) in ep. 107.

[3] Hugo, *Monumenta*, i. praefatio.

discipline within and to persuade Pope Innocent III that the Order was an instrument for good in the Church, which deserved papal protection. In a strong letter which Gervase wrote to the Pope in 1213[1] he begs him urgently and humbly 'to revert to all your original kindness towards the Order of Prémontré and to go on as you began'. He reminds Innocent that at the beginning of his pontificate he had granted many of Gervase's requests for the good of the Order. 'I know' he says, 'that they would have been more beneficial if the disputes of certain people who sought their private profit had not turned away your favour both from them and from the rest of the Order. Let not your Apostolic Piety be angry for ever with all on account of the sins of a few, as seems to have been the case for some time past.' The pope has turned a deaf ear to his propositions made for the common good. Can it be because the abbot had communicated them by humble messengers, when more dignified envoys were not available?[2] He continues: 'I humbly prostrate myself at the feet of your Holiness, and thank you most devoutly that, as my returning messengers tell me, you always enquire with fatherly affection what I am doing and what fruits reward my labour. But to this I reply to you plainly that had I not hoped for some relief from your Holiness, I should long ago have cast from my shoulders the burden which is laid upon me. I work hard, hardly to any purpose; nor can I succeed unless your Piety gives ample help to me and my colleagues. For I firmly believe that if your favour towards the Order of Prémontré had lasted until now as it began and if those who ruled the Order

[1] Ep. 13. This was written after Gervase heard the pope's summons to a General Council read at Reims. The papal letter is dated in the register 19th April 1213. According to the register (Migne, *Patr. latina*, ccxvi. 826) a copy of this summons was sent to the abbot and convent of Prémontré, but this copy may have only reached Gervase after he heard the copy sent to the archbishop of Reims.

[2] Cf. a complaint of Clement V that the king of France's messenger on a certain occasion was of humble station and travelled on foot. 'Magnificentie igitur regie hoc duximus intimandum ut diligenter advertat quod secundum statum negotii pro quo mittere ad nos contigerit studeat deinceps nuntios ipsi negotio congruos destinare' (quoted, E. Berger, *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, i (1884), xl-xli). Cf. also Innocent III in *Reg. super negotio imperii*, no. 177 (Migne, ccxvi. 1160 and ed. Kempf, p. 383).

meanwhile had responded to the favour you extended to them and had worked in it with proper humility and devotion, there would not be a religious Order to-day to which clergy and laity would more devoutly flock.'

Gervase's remonstrances took effect. When the abbot attended the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, he received favours for himself and his Order.[1] Moreover, Innocent III commissioned him to plant Premonstratensian canons in the monastery of St. Quirico, Antrodoco, in the diocese of Rieti, from which some evil-living Benedictine monks, who had murdered their abbot, were expelled.[2] This settlement caused Gervase a lot of worry in the next few years, as we learn from his letters to the abbot whom he had installed under a mistaken view of his capacity, and to the cardinal-priest Leo, on whom he relied to supervise a house so far removed from the mother-house at Prémontré. He has to warn the abbot[3] against incautiously harbouring fire in his bosom: 'you will be harbouring it,' he writes, 'if you receive into your monastery monks of the Abruzzi who wish to make profession in our Order; for they are Lombards, and cunning beyond measure and practised of old in the flatteries of the deceitful.' To the cardinal he complains[4] that he had taken pains to choose an abbot who was religious-minded and lettered, and he is convinced that he had found such a man; 'but now,' he says, 'I am still more firmly convinced that he is such a simpleton that he is like a sprig of vine stuck in the earth which retains its greenness without spreading its shoots out wide or lengthening its roots in depth, certain to die without giving fruits or sets; for he is said to be no good, as regards spiritual edification, at choosing brethren or as regards temporal advantage, at constructing buildings, nor is he successful in promoting the business of his Order in the Roman Curia.'

Questions of discipline naturally called for most correspondence when they cropped up in distant provinces. Then the abbot of Prémontré could not visit in person and sometimes had to look outside the Order for a deputy. He writes to the bishop of Thebes[5] to ask him to supervise the Premonstratensians in his diocese (of whom the old historians of the Order have no other

[1] *Mon. Germ. hist. SS.* xxvi. 457 (Anonymi Laudunensis canonici).
[2] Epp. 26-32. [3] Ep. 28. [4] Ep. 30. [5] Ep. 88.

trace). He appoints the abbot of Milevsko to visit the monasteries of eastern Europe, saying: 'We have sent visitors and correctors not once but many times, concerning whom it fell out (if we are rightly informed) that either they neglected their charge or they were not admitted with proper respect by those to whom they were sent.' He expresses alarm at rumours about the prevalence of private property among the Premonstratensians of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, and quotes the Rule of St. Augustine on the subject.[1]

The distant monasteries often caused anxiety of a different sort to the head of the Order. Twice on his travels the abbot had to subvent a wretched canon of Börglum who was reduced to terrible straits by poverty and robbers during his journey to and from Rome on conventual business.[2] On another occasion, Abbot Gervase sent Isaac, an Irish canon of Tuam, to the abbot of Vicoigne.[3] Isaac had appeared at Prémontré to learn French and to see how the mother-house maintained the discipline and rigour of the Rule, 'which', writes Gervase, 'he perhaps does not see in his own church, for the canons there are few and the people are barbarous'. Gervase approves his intention but would have approved it still more had he come properly clothed. Last year, in the depth of winter, three other brethren of the same house had come ill-clad to Prémontré, and this year there were seven other guests who needed clothing. So the abbot of Vicoigne is asked to take his share of the burdens which fall on Prémontré and admit Isaac. He must console him, as one who has not been brought up in the strictness of the cloister and the rigour of the Rule.

Besides this letter about the Irish and another[4] addressed to Whitehern in Galloway (where the cathedral church was manned by Premonstratensians), a dozen of these letters are addressed to England. It is therefore remarkable that no English historian has (to my knowledge) made use of the collection.[5] One of

[1] Ep. 119. Milevsko was founded 1187, near Tabor, in the diocese of Prague.
[2] Ep. 108. [3] Ep. 73. [4] Ep. 92.
[5] T. D. Hardy noticed them in his *Cat. of materials for Brit. history* (Rolls series, 1862-1871), iii. 48, but Gross did not. Mr. H. M. Colvin uses them in his forthcoming work on the English Premonstratensians. The most startling neglect of them is in *Collectanea anglo-praemonstratensia* (Camden 3rd series, vi, x, xii, 1904-1906), ed. F. A. Gasquet.

these letters, to Hubert de Burgh, congratulating him on his appointment as justiciar, shows that the abbot contemplated the union of the abbeys of St. Radegond, Bradsole, and West Langdon, on account of poverty[1] : this union never took effect. Another letter permits the reception of the widowed mother of the abbot of Alnwick ' in the house of Ghines '.[2] It is significant of the vague nature of the attachments which often bound nunneries to particular religious Orders that Abbot Gervase says : ' this house of Ghines is entirely unknown to me '. Modern historians are hardly in a better case. For though the place may be identified with Guyzance, on the Coquet, the evidence for the existence of a nunnery there is scanty in the extreme.[3] A third letter to England appoints the abbot of Begham as visitor of St. Radegond's. Others arrange for the admission of a canon to Alnwick, and for the punishment of two forgers, who were canons of Eggleston and St. Agat[h]a's, Easby.[4]

Letters 40 and 41 are addressed to the cardinal Guala Bichieri, during his legation in England (1216-1218) to safeguard the exemption of the English Premonstratensians from the Crusading tax of a twentieth and to plead for the less culpable among those English canons of the Order who had supported the rebels against King John and had thus incurred sentence of excommunication. But letter 41 is also of interest for an obscure comment on the political situation in England. There has been a threefold peace-proposal, said to have emanated from the Apostolic See, which—had any part of it been put into effect—would have disgraced the whole Church and the legate.[5] This letter was probably written in summer 1216 ;[6] but it is difficult not to associate this *triplex forma* with the ' triplex forma pacis, quarum quelibet honesta et rationabilis erat et a viris dominum

[1] Ep. 77. [2] Ep. 69, cf. 70.

[3] See *Northumberland pleas, 1198-1272*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Newcastle Rec. Committee, 1922), pp. xxii, 217. Its existence was unknown to the editors of the *Monasticon* and *Coll. anglo-praem.*

[4] Epp. 80, 128, 125.

[5] ' Triplex forma pacis quae (ut dicitur) a sede apostolica emanavit, quarum quaelibet (si fuisset ad effectum perducta) in totius ecclesiae et vestram nihilominus ignominiam redundasset. . . .'.

[6] Cf. references to Gervase's illness here and in epp. 2 and 33. Certainly not before Guala went to England in May, 1216.

timentibus merito acceptanda ', to which the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues had referred in their letter of 5th September, 1215 to Archbishop Stephen and his suffragans.[1] The earlier reference has been taken to point to the settlement at Runnymede,[2] but the phrase does not necessarily imply that the peace-terms had taken effect and the context suggests that the opposition of the magnates to them preceded their first diffidation and the capture of London. Moreover, the pope is said to have provided this *forma* in the presence of and with the consent of the magnates' messengers. These facts, together with Gervase's statement, point to some rejected (and lost) proposals for peace made to the magnates' messengers at Rome in March, 1215, about the time when John obtained papal letters to Langton and his suffragans and to the magnates and barons of England.[3]

Of all the letters to England, no. 13 is of most general interest. It is addressed to Archbishop Stephen Langton and from internal evidence may be dated July-August, 1215, before news had reached Prémontré of the renewal of civil war after Magna Carta and of the condemnation of that document by the pope. It has been overlooked by the historians of the period. Since it shows how the political disturbances of England might appear to an Englishman abroad in 1215 and also illustrates well the abbot's literary style, it shall be quoted in full :

Gervasius Stephano episcopo Cantuariensi.[4]

Sine sollicitudine nescit esse dilectio, nec permittit charitas quiescere cor amantis, donec de dilecti statu aliquid certi cognoverit, unde debeat vel in adversis compati vel in prosperis collaetari. Solebant sane sciscitanti mihi valde laeta de vobis ab intermeantibus responderi quod illa videlicet dilectionis aurora, quae post longam irarum caliginem illucescens dudum erga vos serenavit cor

[1] Edited by F. M. Powicke, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xliv (1929), 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97 and H. G. Richardson, BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxix (1945), 193.

[3] *Foedera* (Rec. Commission), I. i. 127. In reaching this conclusion I have been helped by Miss Stella Whileblood's discussion of the letter of 1215 in her unpublished thesis, ' Anglo-papal relations 1213-1216 ' (Manchester M.A., 1947). Professor Sidney Painter has, independently, criticized the accepted view in his *Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 345–6.

[4] The protocol is both abridged and corrupted. Other letters in the collection show the usual formulae of title and address. Gervase would undoubtedly have put Stephen's name before his own.

regis, iam in perfectum diem profecerit, adeo ut non auderet quis casum ponere quo, qui videbatur fervor, deberet in vesperam declinare. Laetatus sum satis hinc non immerito, quod inde fuit nacta oportunitas unde data facultas ut in multitudine populorum quae vestrae sollicitudini est commissa verbi dei semina spargerentur, et lucra fierent animarum. Sed dum sustinui pacem, ut multiplicaretur in dies, dum quaesivi desiderio mentis bona, ut scilicet laetis laetiora succederent, ecce quidam auribus meis nuper in alleluia paschalium gaudiorum triste aliquid infuderunt, videlicet quod suscitata dissensio inter regem et principes pacem regni turbasset, et iratis invicem qui regere videbantur in discrimen tribulationis et angustiae qui regi debuerant offendissent. His igitur auditis incommodis non potui, fateor, non sollicitari pro vobis, attendens nimirum quia paterne curaretis tumultuantes filios mitigare, hinc plebium pusillanimitatem erigere, quae prae timore consolationem vix rapiunt, hinc effraenos principum motus reprimere, qui prae feritate consilium non admittunt. Non enim potui de vobis praesumere, quod sine mentis perturbatione possetis videre mala gentis vestrae, nec sine animi cruciatu maiorum discordias, minorum formidines, et quod amplius est, intermissa animarum negotia sustinere. Sed postquam iratus fuerit, recordabitur misericordiae suae deus, et rebus per gratiam suam et laborem vestrum compositis, excocto iam semine lachrymarum, fructum vos faciet colligere gaudiorum, curretque ut coepit velociter sermo eius per quem in coelestes recubitus gregatim animae inferentur. Sane cum, sicut didici, desiderata pax inchoata sit, congratulor non immerito non modicum ipsi paci, quae licet nondum consummata sit pro voto, quia tamen, ut ait Philosophus, dimidium habet facti, qui coepit, ipsam pacem inchoatam, non censui sine congratulatione debita relinquendam, plenam concipiens ex dei benignitate fiduciam quod qui coepit in vobis ipse perficiet, firmabit, solidabitque, et pacem desideratam iamdiu, concludet exitu glorioso. Sane quia culpa est, sicut scitis, persequi culpam totam, necesse est propter malitiam dierum praesentium et frigescentem in pluribus et fere in omnibus charitatem ut cum moderamine exerceatur severitas et aliquid habeat admixtum mansuetudinis rigor ecclesiasticae pietatis, ne peccator cogatur contemnere cum venerit in profundum, et qui delinitus potuit invitari ad veniam, exacerbatus provocetur ad culpam. Prorsus cum iam regis ferocitas in parte non modica mitigetur, per quod digne potest praesumi de eo quod sanctae ecclesiae sit satisfacturus ad plenum, si tamen tractetur non aspere, sanctae paternitati vestrae consulo quatenus in causa ecclesiae pro qua vos dominus murum opposuit contra eum, in quantum permiserit iustitia et honestas mansuetudinem exeratis, quae si fuisset, ut credimus, exerta iampridem ecclesia pro qua statis non inferiorem fuisset gloriam consecuta. Valete.

Besides being a fine specimen of Gervase's skill in the *ars dictandi*, this letter shows a more detached attitude to the troubles in England than we can expect to get from the opposing parties. And although the abbot of Prémontré may have been less well informed of the true facts than were people on the spot, he was an Englishman by birth, his connexions with England were close, and he knew some of the parties concerned.

Amid the flowers of rhetoric in this letter we first discern a reference to the settlement between Church and State reached by King John and Pandulf in May, 1213. This was the dawn of the king's favour. Daylight increased with the welcome to Langton in July, 1213, the lifting of the Interdict in July, 1214, and various royal acts in favour of the Church which were done in the winter of 1214-1215. And then, at Easter 1215, had come news of the dispute between king and magnates which was gradually coming to a head since January. The ensuing peace of which Abbot Gervase has heard and which impels him to write must be the settlement at Runnymede. King John announced that he had made peace with his barons on 19th June, and Stephen Langton with other bishops ratified that peace. The exhortation to Langton to exercise moderation has more than a touch of criticism about the conduct of the Church's case against John in the past. Maybe it was not good advice that Gervase gave, but it was characteristic of him and we cannot dismiss it as manifestly unreasonable. With it we may compare a remark by Gervase in a letter written in the summer of 1216 to Simon, archbishop of Tyre, legate in France. This shows that Gervase had no sympathy with the clergy who supported the baronial party when Prince Louis came on the English scene at their invitation. He says: 'I am deeply grieved that when England was on the verge of peace, it was prevented by just four clerics: would that they had never learnt their letters.'[1]

The proportion of this correspondence which stands outside the normal business of the Order is not large, but is considerable. The most important letters in the category are certainly those which concern Crusades. The relief of the Holy Land was a cause which lay very near the heart of Innocent III, and one in which the Premonstratensians distinguished themselves by their preaching.[2] These letters include several to and from the king

[1] Ep. 34. Simon Langton, Gervase of Hubbridge, Elias of Dereham, and Robert of St. Germain had been concerned with bringing Prince Louis to England (C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur . . . Louis VIII* (1894), p. 161).

[2] See G. Martini, 'Innocenzo iii ed il finanziamento delle crociate', in *Archivio della reali deputazione Romana*, lxvii (N.S. 10, 1944), 309–35, and F. Petit, *La spiritualité* ch. v: 'L'esprit de la croisade'.

and patriarch of Jerusalem,[1] others about the collection of money from Crusaders for commuted vows,[2] and two letters[3] of outstanding interest from Gervase to Innocent III (in June 1216) and Honorius III, which probably state more forcibly than any other contemporary document some defects in the organization of the Crusade. It was the one great common endeavour of Latin Christendom in this age, but Gervase warned the pope not to let the French and Germans travel upon it together (for they never agree in any great enterprise), not to allow the funds to be embezzled, not to let the privileges of the nobles be a scandal to the poorer pilgrims, and so on. Other letters, relating to the Albigensian Crusade, include the letter[4] which Alice de Montfort and her sons wrote to Gervase to announce the death of Simon de Montfort before Toulouse on 28th June, 1219: an event which led Gervase to observe in his reply that 'precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints', while it drew bitterly ironical verses from a poet of Languedoc: 'If by killing men, . . . by consenting to murders, . . . by starting conflagrations, . . . by seizing lands, by advancing the proud, by kindling evil and extinguishing good, by killing women and children, one can gain Jesus Christ in this world, he may well wear a crown and shine in Heaven.'[5] Abbot Gervase had already sent one of his canons on a preaching tour to stimulate the faithful to attack as early as February 1213.[6] He now promised further support.

IV

It is tempting to continue with quotation and analysis. But we may conclude by remarking, first, how many important trivialities are embedded in these letters; secondly, how much emerges from them about Gervase himself.

Some throw light on the ways by which news was transmitted in the thirteenth century,[7] and the use of merchants as postmen

[1] Epp. 36-38, 84, 115.
[2] Epp. 33-35, cf. 2.
[3] Epp. 2, 4 (translated in *Hist. litt. de la France*, xviii. 45-50). Ep. 4 is reprinted in *Rec. des hist. de la France*, xix. 618-620.
[4] Ep. 97. The reply is ep. 98.
[5] *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ed. Paul Meyer, i. 351.
[6] Ep. 43.
[7] Epp. 37, 41, 72, 88.

(especially when hirelings of the excommunicate Emperor Otto lay in wait for clerks bearing letters from the Curia);[1] others demonstrate the danger of getting papal letters drafted in the wrong form,[2] and the tiresome ambiguity of some papal mandates.[3] We see, too, the haste to execute a papal mandate when the pope was ill (lest he should die and the mandate be invalid).[4] We learn that it was difficult to hire large carts in springtime in Picardy,[5] and that lodgings were dear in Rome at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council.[6]

As for Gervase himself, his letters contain no reminiscences, no intimate revelations of his feelings. They are not letters of kinds to show all sides of his character; but something of the man is revealed by the friends with whom he corresponds and by his reaction to the situations which the letters describe. Pope Innocent III had been friendly towards him long before he reached the headship of his Order, and when the pope was dead, Gervase recalled[7] that 'in his lifetime he loved me and greatly honoured me'. It is even possible that they knew each other in the schools of Paris before Gervase took the cowl; for although the evidence for the abbot's sojourn at Paris is anything but strong, it is not improbable. At Paris, too, he might have formed the friendship which emerges from these letters with Master Philip the Chancellor,[8] a versatile scholar and poet, with Master Stephen Langton, and with one Master Peter of Northampton, a regent master in canon law.[9] Gervase was evidently on fairly familiar terms with Peregrinus, archbishop of

[1] Epp. 108, 120. See 'Chronicon Emonis' for a Premonstratensian's experience in 1212 (Hugo, *Monumenta*, i. 437).

[2] Epp. 15, 108. In the second of these letters MS. Rawl. C. 533 (ep. xxxix) supplies a necessary emendation to Hugo's text: 'excepto quod in eis de ecclesia vestra nulla mencio facta fuit quod esset cathedralis.'

[3] Epp. 2, 8. [4] Ep. 8. [5] Ep. 112.

[6] Ep. 108. [7] Ep. 114.

[8] Epp. 10, 87. He wrote to Honorius III on Philip's behalf and at his request, when the latter was summoned to Rome to answer charges against him in 1219 (cf. Potthast 6173).

[9] Ep. 57. The name is *Norhant* in Hugo's edition, *Northampton* in Rawl. MS. C. 533 fo. 53v. Gervase writes a testimonial to the *scolasticus* of Reims for Peter, whom he describes as 'dilectus et familiaris noster' and who wishes to 'regere in facultate sua' at Reims.

Brindisi, and several of the cardinalate at Rome. When he writes to Hubert de Burgh, he wishes to be remembered ' to my venerable friend your chaplain, Luke,' of future fame as archbishop of Dublin, a man influential in Church and State. The chancellor of Wells Cathedral is another English correspondent to whom the abbot writes familiarly.[1]

These indications suggest that Gervase was a man who moved freely among ecclesiastical statesmen and scholars. His English origin may account for the high proportion of Englishmen among those just named. He was not by any means the only Englishman to be found on the continent in the habit of a Premonstratensian. Bartholomew, a canon of Prémontré, was a relative of the abbot, employed by him in Italian affairs.[2] A subprior of Prémontré in his time apparently hailed from Northumberland.[3] Soon after his time, William, abbot of Dale, became head of the Order. The anonymous chronicler of Laon, who stopped his annals at 1219, is thought to have been a Premonstratensian and an Englishman.[4] But it is significant that the Anonymous did not think the English origin of Abbot Gervase worthy of comment, although he found space to praise him. Nor did the English connexion disqualify Gervase in 1220 from being appointed to rule the bishopric of Séez, recently transferred from the Angevin empire to the kingdom of France. Like Stephen Langton and other Englishmen of his day, Gervase had been content to live for many years under the rule of Philip Augustus, while that king was at war with the king of England ; and whatever his sentimental attachment to England, political nationalism was not among the obligations of his office.

The letter to Stephen Langton shows that Gervase was disposed to live on good terms with the lay power, despite the disputes over jurisdiction which were always disturbing relations between Church and State in one part of Europe or another. He was evidently on good terms with William des Roches,

[1] Ep. 72. The initial *L.*, which appears in the printed editions and the Rawl. MS., does not agree with the name of any known chancellor.

[2] Epp. 29-30.

[3] Ep. 70.

[4] Cf. G. Waitz, *Mon. Germ. hist., SS.*, xxvi. 442.

seneschal of Anjou,[1] and with Simon de Montfort the elder ;[2] and in conducting the affairs of his Order in Bohemia he steered a careful course in the midst of the battle over clerical privilege which was raging between King Ottokar II and Bishop Andrew of Prague. His letters to the king and the marquis of Moravia are diplomatic expressions of neutrality.[3] This reflects the traditions of the Premonstratensian Order, which seems to have leaned heavily on the lay power. In Germany the canons distinguished themselves in the service of the Empire.[4] In England some of the principal patrons of the Order were the great civil servants of the Angevin kings, Ranulf de Glanvill and his nephews, Hubert and Theobald Walter, William Brewer, Geoffrey FitzPeter, and Robert Turnham.[5] On 23rd December, 1208, when Gervase was on the point of succeeding to the headship of Prémontré, the Order obtained from the pope a significant privilege : its members were not bound to cite, admonish, or excommunicate magnates and nobles within whose lands the property of the Order lay.[6]

Just as his efforts to please the laity did not preclude plain speaking upon occasion, so in his relations with the popes he combined the most profound reverence for papal authority with firmness and frankness in the statement of his recommendations and complaints. He won the respect of both Innocent III and Honorius III. The Anonymous of Laon notes as a sign of the favour he enjoyed at the Curia in 1215 that ' neither the pope nor any of the cardinals would receive any gift from him ' ;[7] it was, if true, a singular compliment. In the words of Gervase, ' all churches come out from the womb of the sacred Roman

[1] Ep. 95 : ' cum a longis retro temporibus constet nobis quod sis vir bonus, faciens iustitiam et promovens aequitatem . . .'.

[2] Ep. 98 : ' quem, dum viveret, tenerrime dileximus, sed et ipse, secundum quod credimus, tenerrime nos dilexit. . . . Quem, dilectus ab ipso specialiter, a tenera sua iuventute dilexi.'

[3] Epp. 99-101. E.g. ep. 100 (to the marquis) : ' Si dicti rex et episcopus sint discordes, nos in neutrius favorem interponimus partes nostras, sed oramus pariter pro utroque, ut pax Christi exultet in cordibus eorundem.'

[4] ' in imperii obsequiis '—the words are of the Austin canon Rahewin, quoted J. de Ghellinck, *L'essor de la litt. latine au xii^e siècle* (Brussels, 1946), i. 201.

[5] Cf. David Knowles, *The mon. Order in England 943-1216*, p. 360.

[6] Le Paige, *op. cit.*, p. 649 (Potthast 3582).

[7] *Loc. cit.*, p. 457.

Church, just as all rivers come out from the sea and return again to it ';[1] and ' when we are bitten by the fiery serpents of the world's malice ', the Apostolic See is the brazen serpent on which we gaze in order to be healed.[2] ' The Lord Pope ', so Gervase reminds two Bohemian abbots, ' is the head of the universal Church.'[3] ' Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft.'[4] But these sentiments do not prevent the abbot from speaking bluntly to the pope. When the pope issues mandates in ignorance of the facts of a case, this is what Gervase writes :[5]

> When the atmosphere of Apostolic calm is disturbed by the fraud and malice of petitioners, so that thunderous mandates descend from the eminence of the Roman See, I should be troubled and stricken with grievous terror, did I not know that even this same Vicar of Christ, who holds the position of Peter's oarsman, can in such matters be deceived like a mortal man ; his temper must, I am sure, become tranquil, when the cloud of falsehood is dispelled by the sun of justice, so that the ray of truth shines forth.

This is a prelude to the exposure of his adversaries and the thinly-veiled assertion that the pope does not know what he is about. His protests recall the better-known complaints of Robert Grosseteste to the Curia. There is the same mixture of candour, argumentation, and submissiveness.

He was a vigorous defender of his Order. That not only emerges from the letters[6] which record particular attacks upon its exemption ; it is visible in his exhortation to abbots to avoid occasions for disciplinary action by the pope,[7] and in his faintly slighting references to monastic Orders deemed stricter than his own. Let an apostate Premonstratensian abbot be forced either to obey the regulations of his own Order or to betake himself ' to other religious, more excellent than the Premonstratensians, whom he may choose to obey '.[8] Within the Order itself, he believed in exercising strict authority over all the daughter-houses, and set store by the formalities of obedience. Among the collected letters is one from the subprior of Prémontré

[1] Ep. 20. Cf. Eccles. 1, 7.
[2] Ep. 45. Cf. Numbers 21, 6-9.
[3] Ep. 72.
[4] Ep. 63. Cf. I Kings 15, 23. This was a commonly quoted text : e.g. Gregory, *Moralia*, lib. 35, 13, contained in Gratian's *Decretum*, II., 8, 1, 10.
[5] Ep. 16, cf. 17-19.
[6] Epp. 5-6, 15, 20-25, 44-48.
[7] Ep. 78.
[8] Ep. 11, cf. 314 and 125.

to the abbot of Alnwick ;[1] the writer ends with a piece of advice : 'Take care about one small matter. When you write to the abbot of Prémontré, do not leave out the word "obedience" in your preliminary greeting. Say *salutem et devotam obedientiae voluntatem ;* otherwise your letters may get a rough reception.'

This insistence on the etiquette of letter-writing does not indicate a martinet. The abbot's discrimination in awarding and recommending punishment[2] bespeaks a man who was not merely a competent organizer and administrator but also a pastor of experience and sensitiveness. He recognized that his office demanded a great variety of qualities and he had no use for abbots who were decrepit or unfit to administer property or control a community.[3] When he wrote[4] to the prior and convent of Clarholz, instructing them to elect a new abbot, he told them what sort of man to choose :

> Such a person as shall not be too simple in the conduct of external business, since St. Gregory says[5] that those are to be appointed to the rule of churches in these days who not only think of the cure of souls but also are provident and prudent in the management of worldly affairs, and who know how to turn from Mary's contemplation to the carefulness of Martha.[6]

This was, indeed, no more than a commonplace. The idea is prominent in Gregory's *Pastoral rule*, and in the time of Abbot Gervase we find it expressed (for instance) in the customs of English Austin canons.[7] Nevertheless, it shows the type of life which Abbot Gervase tried to live, his energies divided between things spiritual and temporal. He does not figure prominently among the spiritual authors of Prémontré ; and yet, when a modern writer on the subject goes out of his way to drag Gervase into their midst, the good abbot does not seem to be in

[1] Ep. 70.

[2] Epp. 41, 67-68, 110, and below, Appendix II, no. lxvi.

[3] Epp. 83, 111 (? both concerned with the abbot of Vicoigne), and above p. 33.

[4] Ep. 106.

[5] The sentiment is expressed in the *Regula pastoralis*, pars. ii, 7, but a closer parallel is in Gregory's letters, lib. 8, ep. 40, contained in *Decretum*, I. 39, 1.

[6] Luke 10, 38-41. Cf. below, p. 53 n. 4.

[7] *Observances in use at . . . Barnwell*, ed. J. W. Clark (1897), p. 43 : 'The Prelate ought to be specially careful to attend to spiritual things in such a way that he be not dull in temporal things ; and to be careful about temporal things in such a way that he neglect not spiritual things.'

uncongenial company. These letters of his are not notable sermons, like some of St. Bernard's or of Gervase's contemporary the Cistercian Abbot Adam of Perseigne ; but in them we discern the balanced person whom the Anonymous of Laon described on his elevation to Prémontré. He called Gervase *vir modestus, religiosus, et discretus.*

APPENDIX I

The Texts of the Letters of Abbot Gervase

The first printing of a letter of the abbot seems to be by Aubert Le Mire, in *Ordinis praemonstratensis chronicon* (Cologne, 1613), p. 162. This is the letter addressed to the patriarch of Jerusalem, numbered by Hugo ep. 38. Le Mire does not clearly state his source ; and as he is obviously ill-informed about Abbot Gervase, it is unlikely that his text came directly from an extensive collection of the letters. It shows, however, few variants (mostly they are obvious corruptions) from Hugo's edition. In 1633 Le Paige (*Bibl. praem. ord.*, p. 305), noted that Gervase ' scripsit epistolas ad diversos '. In 1663 Fr. Norbert Caillieu published at Valenciennes a collection containing seventy letters, with the prefatory letter of Canon Hugh, which is translated above, from a manuscript then in the Premonstratensian abbey of Vicoigne.[1] I have been unable to trace the manuscript. In 1725 the Premonstratensian abbot C. L. Hugo published at Étival his *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica ;*[2] this contains 137 letters, with the prefatory letter. Hugo found this collection in a manuscript of the abbey of Steinfeld, in Westphalia ; I have been unable to

[1] The only copy I have traced is in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The title-page reads : *Epistolae reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini D. Gervasii Praemonstratensis abbatis, postea Sagiensis episcopi, ex veteri celeberrimae Viconiensis monasterii Bibliothecae manu-scripto editae, opera R. P. F. Norberti Caillieu, facultatis Parisiensis doctoris theologi, nec-non archimonasterii Praemonstratensis prioris. ' Gloria eorum non derelinquetur .' Eccli. 44* [printer's device] *Valencenis, Typis Ioannis Boucher, sub nomine Iesu, 1663.* The book is licensed by an abbot of the Order, 8th November, 1662, and by a censor at Valenciennes, 22nd December, 1662. In addition to the letters, which occupy pp. 1-104, there are eight letters by the editor concerning Jean Launoy's attack on the privileges of the Order, and seventeen *pièces justificatives* (pp. 105-161). Three unnumbered pages follow with a list of the Gervase letters. *Hist. litt. France*, xviii, 44 states that Caillieu's edition was published at Mons in 1662. I have found no confirmation of this.

[2] Imprint : ' Stivagii, J. M. Heller.' It is also found with the title : *Accessiones novae ad historiam ecclesiasticam et civilem*, and the imprint : ' Francofurti ad Moenum apud Franciscum Varrentrapp 1744.'

trace this.[1] Another collection exists in a manuscript of the latter part of the thirteenth century, of English origin, now MS. Rawlinson C. 533 in the Bodleian Library. On fos. 27*v*-116*r* are copied 101 letters, numbered and rubricated, with the original title: 'Incipit quedam pars registri G. abbatis Premonstr.'[2] In addition to these collections, Hugo has given us a letter of Gervase to Pope Celestine III on behalf of the warlike Philip de Dreux, bishop of Beauvais, who had been imprisoned by Richard I,[3] and a letter of Gervase to Innocent III on behalf of Master Emo, canon of Werum in Frisia, on his way to the Curia in 1211.[4]

The contents of the three collections—Caillieu's, Hugo's, and the Rawlinson MS.—show differences of some interest.

1. The seventy letters in Caillieu's edition correspond to epp. 1-2, 4, 33-43, 14-29, 44-83 of Hugo's collection, in that order. These include nothing demonstrably later than the date of Canon Hugh's preface to the collection, i.e. end of June, 1218. Letter 1 was probably written in 1209.

2. Hugo's 137 letters include all those found in Caillieu's collection, with additions of various dates both before and after 1218. Of these, 108 are written in Gervase's name, four in the name of the General Chapter of Prémontré, and twenty-five by twenty-one other correspondents (mostly addressing Gervase). They include letters of Abbot Gervase which belong to 1219 and possibly 1220, and still later letters of his successor Conrad and of Pope Gregory IX. We infer that Caillieu's collection represents the compilation of Canon Hugh (in original or copy) and that Hugo's is a second recension made after 1227.

3. MS. Rawl. C. 533 seems to be limited to letters written between 1214 and 1219. It is not prefaced by the letter of Canon Hugh; while it contains eighty-nine of the letters found in Hugo's edition (of which fifteen are not the abbot's),[5] and all of Caillieu's collection save the first letter, it also has twelve

[1] After the canons fled from Steinfeld during the French Revolutionary wars, books from the library were badly treated and many doubtless destroyed: see F. X. Boos, 'Fragment eines Necrologiums der Abtei Steinfeld aus dem xiii Jh.', in *Eüfalia*, iii (Trier, 1829), 43-50. I am indebted to Professor Walther Holtzmann for the above reference and for notice of nine former MSS. of Steinfeld in modern German collections. Two others survive in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 21109, 24682). Cf. Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon praemonstratense*, i (Straubing, 1949), 193.

[2] For the full contents of the MS. see W. D. Macray's catalogue. The letters are numbered vii-civ, with unnumbered letters xii *bis*, xxii *bis*, xxxvii *bis*. A folio missing between fos. 112-113 contained the latter part of the hundredth letter (ep. 99 in Hugo's numeration).

[3] *Monumenta*, sig.a verso, from 'Vita Gervas., MSS. Viconien.'.

[4] *Ibid.* 436-437 (in the *Chronicon Emonis*). A valuable letter of the men of Hythe to Gervase is printed in *Monasticon anglicanum*, vii. 942*a*. I do not note existing routine official *acta* of Gervase preserved elsewhere (e.g., Hugo, *Annales*, II. ii. p. cxc) nor do I note the papal letters addressed to him as head of the Order or as bishop of Séez.

[5] It omits Hugo's epp. 1, 5-13, 30-32, 84, 87-94, 105-107, 115-137. The sequence of letters common to the two collections varies greatly.

others (of which six are not the abbot's), which are not found in either of the printed editions.

It seems, then, that collections 1 and 2 are closely related, while 3 stands apart. But all three are sufficiently similar to suggest that a single official or semi-official collection was the ultimate source of all. The title of the Rawlinson collection (*quedam pars registri*) points to the regular registration at Prémontré of some at least of the abbot's official correspondence. In the early thirteenth century, indeed, something of the sort had become the order of the day in many secular and ecclesiastical chanceries, even if systematic and classified registers belong for the most part to a later generation. Mr. Pantin has shown how English monastic letter-books of the later Middle Ages combined the objects of legal record and of formulary and might include, into the bargain, letters of purely personal or historic interest.[1] In the Bodleian MS. Ashmole 1519 we have such a register prepared for Bishop Richard Redman, Premonstratensian abbot of Shap (c. 1459-1505).[2] But if a register of official correspondence, including letters received as well as letters sent out, was kept at Prémontré in Abbot Gervase's time, it does not follow that the letters copied into the Rawlinson manuscript represent a complete section of this register or even follow the sequence of letters in the original. For they can have been only of formal or historic interest at the time of copying. In other words, the compiler of Rawlinson C. 533 or its archetype had much the same interests as had Canon Hugh, whose letter precedes the Caillieu and Hugo collections. Neither compiler was concerned to make a complete copy of the material at his disposal, and so their selections differ. Neither compiler was interested in maintaining chronological order, and so the sequence of letters differs.[3]

Finally, may be noted another collection which has not been traced, which appears in the catalogue of books of St. Radegund's Abbey, near Dover, written about 1300. Here, significantly enough, among the books *De Gramatica*, occurs 'liber epistolarum Gervasii abbatis praemonstratensis duplex cum aliis inscriptis in duobus voluminibus.'[4]

APPENDIX II

The following letters,[5] of which six are Gervase's, occur in the *Pars registri G. abbatis* in MS. Rawlinson C. 533 and are not in the collections printed by

[1] 'English monastic letter-books', in *Hist. essays in honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), pp. 201-222, especially pp. 204, 206, 209.

[2] Used by Gasquet for *Collect. anglo-praem.* (see i. pp. xiv-xix). The formulary-element is evident in the extracts it contains from letters of Peter of Blois (i. 205-207, cf. 252-263).

[3] There is, of course, no reason to suppose that strict chronological order was maintained in the official register (cf. Pantin, *loc. cit.*, p. 210).

[4] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, liii (1938), 92.

[5] I am obliged to my colleague, Dr. Otto Skutsch, for reading these letters and for making several suggestions which I have adopted.

Caillieu and Hugo (cf. Appendix I, above). They are printed here with the numbers and titles which appear in the manuscript.

[fo. 56*r*] xxxv. *Obligacio pro nuncio.*

Universis Christi fidelibus etc. Ad sedem apostolicam nuncium et canonicum sacerdotem latorem presencium pro certis negociis dirigentes, per hoc scriptum certam caucionem prestamus quod si idem noster nuncius necessarium habens mutuo accipere pecuniam pro commissis sibi negociis promovendis debitum usque ad centum marcas argenti vel infra contraxerit cum aliquo creditore, nos ipsi vel ipsius certo nuncio ad representacionem scripti presentis satisfacere curabimus competenter, in eo termino atque loco qui de nostri nuncii et ipsius creditoris[1] assensu fuerint constituti.

[fo. 83*v*] lxvi. *Exauditur supplicacio pro recepcione monialium.*

Reverendo in Christo patri et domino dei gracia venerabili Tullanensi electo[2] G. dei paciencia Premonstrati dictus abbas salutem et tam devotum quam debitum reverencie fa-[fo. 84*r*]mulatum. Generositas sanguinis exquirit a vobis quod degeneres mores persequi debeatis, et excellencia nichilominus dignitatis exposcit ut sic diligatis personas quod sciatis culpas nec fovere nec diligere in personis. Nuper sane recepimus literas vestras deprecatorias pro sororibus ecclesie de Chebrel,[3] que cum propter inobedienciam manifestam excommunicate sint ab abbate suo, immo per abbatem a nobis, ad vos habere confidunt recursum, sperantes quod in hac novitate vestra debeatis omnium misereri et de facili suggestiones illarum admittere que primo adcedunt ad vos gratia supplicandi. Verum si exposita esset vobis infamia qua laborant et cognita ad plenum dissolutio diutina earundem, aut non rogaretis pro illis, aut non esset vobis molestum si preces pro eisdem porrecte non haberent effectum. Verumtamen cum noticiam vestri habuerimus ab antiquo, nolentes primicias precum vestrarum omnino repellere, de multa misericordia et quodammodo contra honestatem nostram ad preces vestras permittimus ut ille que obedientes mandatis ordinis exierunt et morate sunt aliquandiu in domibus alienis in locum pristinum [fo. 84*v*] revertantur. Ille vero que usque modo in sua contumacia perstiterunt, modis omnibus exeuntes, extra claustrum suum moram faciant usque ad proximum capitulum generale, tunc quidem sub condicione huiusmodi reversure quod conversacione honesta dissolucionem redimant retroactam, et in novitate spiritus ambulantes[4] in famam convertant infamiam[5] qua laborant, sciture[6] proculdubio quod si ex resumpta conversacione priori cicatrix infamie recrudescat, nullius a nobis intervencio optinebit quin partes morbidas que fomentum non senciunt, ut dignum fuerit, abscidamus.

[1] MS. *credidoris.*

[2] Gerard de Vaudemont, elect of Toul, 1218, died in 1219.

[3] I have failed to find trace of any nunnery of this name in the diocese of Toul.

[4] Cf. Romans, 6, 4 and 7, 6.

[5] MS. *infamiam convertant in famam.*

[6] MS. *scituri.*

[fo. 87*v*] lxxi. *Accusatus iniuste exposcit ut reconcilietur.*

Reverendo domino et patri G. dei providencia Premonstrati abbati venerabili frater J.[1] sue sanctitatis servus se totum in fide et lenitate[2] ad pedes. Si loquor ad dominum meum cum sim pulvis et cinis, canis mortuus, pulex unus, arrogancie non ascribat. Nam quasi loquendi veniam impetrat ac meretur quod immerito sum affectus quod absque [fo. 88*r*] offensa offensus est michi pater in quo sperabam, tanquam erraverim corde et posuerim os in celum, extendens manum ad archam et in Christum deum verbum mittens. Domine, qui omnia nosti, qui scrutaris renes et corda, si superexaltatum est cor meum et elati sunt oculi mei contra dominum et amicum, si grandia sum locutus vel solo verbo modice derogacionis montem tetigi utpote unde sperabam auxilium michi suo tempore proventurum, fiam sicut ablactatus super matrem suam vel sicut fenum tectorum de quo non implebit manum suam qui metet et qui manipulos colliget sinum suum.[3] Saltem antequam turbaretur dominus meus et a corde suo evomeret servum suum, descendere primitus et videre utrum verbum quod ad ipsum cum massis palatarum suarum Siba detulerat verum esset, et tunc demum vel persequeretur suo domino detrahentem vel odio delatorem[4] haberet qui ponebat michi scandalum et meis cupiebat carnibus saturari. Neque enim esset adeo detestabile factum eius si inter fratres vel pares discordiam seminaret, cum omnis similitudo amica sit sibi et paria cito conveni-[fo. 88*v*] ant. Set cum domino servum,[5] magistro discipulum, et subiectum exosum fecerit potestati, quatinus peccaverit satis patet, cum minor non possit repellere vim maioris cum effervuerit ira eius. O, si michi desuper datum esset ut sermones illi quibus iram merui saltem in plumbi lamina scripti essent, ex eorum inspeccione dominus meus proculdubio quievisset nec tanquam mortuum a corde oblivioni traderet servum suum qui ab ipsa puericia ipsum verbo, opere, et veritate dilexi. Quem enim videns, omnia diligencius commendavi, quem super capud meum libencius promovissem dum adhuc preesset ecclesie Sancti Iusti,[6] vel quem maiori dilexerim caritate tu nosti. Unde qui inperas ventis et mari et obediunt tibi, redde michi graciam salutarem, ne si recesserit a me dominus et amicus operiat confusio faciem meam, et pene penitus deficiam cum de dampno meo gavisus fuerit inimicus. Memoretur igitur bonus pater quo desiderio, quo ardore, sue quondam caritatis visceribus sim insertus,[7] nec eum peniteat admi-[fo. 89*r*]sisse in suam amiciciam oleastrum,[8] qui quosdam olive ramos trunco nobili fictis vel pocius falsis ramusculis adherentes in fructu amicicie vellem precedere, si meis vel ope vel operibus indigeret. Testor itaque deum et sanctos

[1] The following letter shows that this was a canon of the Prem. abbey of Val-Secret (dep. of Aisne), in the diocese of Soissons.

[2] Cf. Ecclesiasticus 45, 4. This is the first of twenty-four obvious correspondences with the Vulgate which have been noticed in this letter. The rest will not be noted here.

[3] Ps. 128, 6-7 reads : Fiant sicut fenum tectorum, quod priusquam evellatur exaruit ; De quo non implevit manum suam qui metit, et sinum suum qui manipulos colligit.

[4] MS. *dolatorem.*

[5] MS. *dominum servo.*

[6] Gervase was abbot of St. Just (dioc. Beauvais) from 1195 to 1199.

[7] MS. *ingertus.*

[8] MS. *oleastram.* Cf. Romans 11, 17, etc.

angelos eius quod in illo verbo michi imposito et opposito non peccavi, et tamen in amaritudine moratur oculus meus et cor meum conturbatum est intra me quaqua plaga[1] doloris. Cicatrix iam et tempore et racione debuisset obduci illorum et relacione abbatum per quos super hoc apud excellenciam vestram credo me habundancius excusatum.[2] Neque enim cum de mandato vestro fecissent scrutinium patres illi, in tota multitudine vel unicus est inventus qui michi testimonium non redderet meam innocenciam proclamanti, cui eciam accusatoris calumpnia non pateret. Super quo eciam venerabilis in Christo patris abbatis Vallis Christiane[3] literas apologeticas impetravi, ut si michi non creditis in re mea, eius saltem credatis apicibus fidedignis. Unum dico et non perfunctorie set fideliter et audacter, quod in toto ordine non est homo quem vobis preferam in amore ; quapropter eius [fo. 89*v*] michi memoria est amara qui elongare a me amicum et proximum attemptavit, pro quo si volueritis resistam ei in facie coram vobis ac de falsi suggestione convincam. Nam cum nemo propheta acceptus sit in patria sua, non esset michi difficile, precipue cum plures me advocent nobiles et potentes, mutare locum et habitum, ut, iuxta poetam,[4] qui[5] color est albus, cesset contrarius albo. Set cum in vobis fixerim ancoram spei mee, indecens esset ut ibi fluctuaret et periclitaretur conteri, ubi eam pro quietis et pacis dulcedine collocavi. Sedebo itaque solus et repletus amaritudine donec aspiret dies et inclinentur umbre, donec voce vel literis certioratus fuero de vestra michi amicitia restituta, qua cum sim citra merita spoliatus, restitucionem eius piis non omittam precibus postulare.

lxxii. *Excusatur frater innocens.*[6]

Reverendo patri ac domino G. dei providencia abbati Premonstrati frater R. eiusdem permissione Vallis Christiane dictus abbas salutem et obedienciam debitam ac devotam. Memorari posse vestram credimus sanctitatem venerabili in Christo fratri L. abbati Carthouor'[7] ac nobis per vestras quondam literas precepisse quatinus, ad ecclesiam Vallis [fo. 90*r*] Secrete[8] personaliter accedentes, de quadam commocione facta contra abbatem loci et quibusdam contumeliis quibus idem abbas sicut dicebatur afflictus fuerat et affectus diligenter inquirere veritatem et eam vobis sub sigillis nostris clausam transmittere curaremus. Vestrum igitur exsequentes mandatum ad ecclesiam venimus supradictam, et scrutantes diligencius de premissis, pacata omnia invenimus et placata. Set ne vestri videremur suppressores mandati, communi commemoracione exulcerati, fecimus factum illud, in virtute obediencie et sub periculo animarum omnibus

[1] MS. *plage*. Possibly the original had *quaque plaga*.

[2] Cf. no. lxxii, below.

[3] Val-Chrétien (dep. of Aisne), in the diocese of Soissons.

[4] Ovid, Metam. ii. 541 reads : Cui color albus erat, nunc est contrarius albo.

[5] MS. *qui*, which appears also as a variant in some Ovidian MSS. This pretended quotation is not easy to construe, though the meaning is clear that the writer contemplates removing from the Order of White Canons to the Order of Black Monks.

[6] This is obviously the letter referred to in no. lxxi, above.

[7] Chartreuve (dep. of Aisne), in the diocese of Soissons

[8] Val-Secret

inperantes quatinus nos instruerent de eodem, precipue autem de quodam verbo quod abbas non ex certa scientia set firma quadam opinione inponebat fratri Johanni, videlicet quod absque vestra gracia ipsum promoverat in abbatem sollicite perscrutantes et aliquandiu laborantes, maxime propter instanciam et inportunitatem eiusdem J. qui purgare innocentiam suam per omnium testimonia nitebatur, dolens et conquerens vehementer quod apud beatitudinem vestram falso fuerat accusatus, pro certo didicimus quod non protulerat verbum illud nec [fo. 90*v*] quicquam aliud quo vestra intumescere sanctitas debuisset, qui etiam erubescebat et confundebatur nimium perturbatus eo quod nec opinari quidem tale quid voluistis de eo qui ab ipsa puericia vos dilexit. Nolentes ergo quod opinio alicuius prevaleat vel preiudicet veritati, ad peticionem eiusdem ipsum literulis nostris duximus excusandum, ne fumus mendacii vestrorum[1] obfuscet circa amicos aciem oculorum.

lxxiii. *Pax reformatur inter abbatem et quosdam nobiles.*

G. dei paciencia Premonstrati dictus abbas venerabili in Christo fratri N. abbati Belle Vallis[2] salutem et scinceram in domino caritatem. Nostis sane ut credimus quamdiu et quantum viri nobiles castellanus moromensis[3] et sororius eius laboraverunt ut quedam filia ipsius reciperetur apud Cresciacum[4] in sororem, racione cuiusdam obligacionis qua de recipiendis mulieribus successive que directe de castellanis moromensibus nascerentur asserunt ecclesiam Belle Vallis sibi esse astrictam. Quia igitur idem R. intencionem suam probavit per testes, volentes paci petentium in presenti et vestre indempnitati[5] in posterum provi-[fo. 91*r*]dere, concessimus eis ut filia memorati R. quam ab eo volumus vobis exprimi nominatim ab instanti Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptiste in annum recipiatur Cresciaci in conversam. Volumus autem ut supradicti nobiles caveant vobis super obligacione predicta quod causa vel occasione ipsius non debeat ecclesia vestra aliquo tempore in posterum molestari.[6]

[fo. 91*v*] lxxv. *Conquestio de abbate dampnoso et quod advocata permittat quod alius abbas preficiatur.*

Illustri matrone in Christo karissime M. domine Sablolii senescalle andegavensi[7] G. etc. Meminimus nos olim scripsisse vobis et cum affectione

[1] MS. repeats here *circa amicos.*

[2] Belval-Bois-des-Dames (dep. of Ardennes), in the diocese of Reims. Abbot Nicholas was in office in 1209 (Hugo, *Annales*, i. 258).

[3] Probably Mouron (dep. of Ardennes), S.E. of Vouziers.

[4] Crecy, near Grand-Pré (dep. of Ardennes). Cf. Hugo, *Annales*, i. 561 and Backmund, *Monasticon*, i. 25.

[5] MS. *idemptitati.*

[6] In 1225 it was found that the number of nuns at Crecy had increased, but not the endowments, and it was ordered that no more nuns be admitted (Hugo, *Annales*, i. 563).

[7] Margaret, daughter of Robert IV, lord of Sablé, in Anjou, married William des Roches, seneschal of Anjou about 1190 (G. Dubois, in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxx (1869), 381). The following letter in the Rawlinson MS. is addressed to her husband on the same matter, and uses some of the same phraseology as this letter. The letter to William is in Hugo's collection, ep. 95.

multimoda vos rogasse ut pauperem ecclesiam de Bosco Ranulphi[1] quam recolende memorie R. de Sablolio pater vester fundavit vestro foveretis auxilio et illis precipue qui in ea extirparent vicia et virtutes insererent prestaretis solacium et iuvamen, ita ut ex ipso solacio adhoc [fo. 92*r*] eis prestito, et ecclesie provectus ordinis et vobis proveniret incrementum salutis. Verum cum nuper significatum sit nobis quod ipsius ecclesie ordinacioni et provectui resistatis, in eo maxime quod pastorem illum reprobum et delicatum fovetis qui in ea abbatis et nomine gaudens et locum occupans bona pauperis ecclesie exinanire non desinit, per hoc quod senciens se religiosorum graciam amisisse ob captandum favorem secularium non erubescit cum illis in exquisitis epulis convivari, miramur plurimum quod in manifesta dilapidacione bonorum ecclesie que ex patrimonio vestro fundata est reticetis et cum tot clamantibus non clamatis, ut confusi actus eius in discussionem veniant licet sero. Tolerari tamen posset utcunque quod ignominiam eius silencio verecundo contegitis, set quia adicitis ut laudetis peccatorem et benedicatis iniquum insuper et ne deiciatur resistitis, hoc est precipue super quo et de vobis miramur et ecclesie condolemus. Verumptamen cum status ipsius ecclesie per insufficienciam eius multimodam et vicinis in opprobrium et nobis datus sit in lamentum, cum eciam dissolucio eius tanta sit ut illustris viri W. mariti [fo .92*v*] vestri discrecionem et modestiam superarit, ita ut idem maritus vester ei exprobrando obiecerit quoddam verbum quod dignum memoria nullatenus esse debet, nobilitatem vestram affectuose rogamus quatinus sustineatis benigne immo et interponatis sollicitius partes vestras, si tamen opus fuerit, ut amoto eo quem publica convincit infamia instituatur abbas alius ibi qui et in spiritualibus dilapsa resuscitet et resuscitata multiplicet et in temporalibus dispersa congreget et congregata conservet. Nuncios autem nostros quibus ordinacionem loci vice nostra committimus vestre caritati attencius commendamus.

[fo. 99*v*] lxxxv. *Admonicio super spoliacione restituenda.*

A. sancti Petri et R. sancti Vedasti decanus Suession'[2] dilecto in Christo presbitero de Septem Vallibus salutem in omnium salvatore. Auctoritate domini pape qua fungimur in hac parte vobis firmiter iniungendo mandamus quatinus Colardum, parochianum vestrum, diligencius ammonentes ad hoc inducere satagatis ut cum ipse quibusdam terris, vineis, arboribus ecclesiam Premonstrati [fo. 100*r*] spoliaverit, prout ex confessione ipsius in iure facta didicimus manifeste, in possessionem omnium rerum ablatarum mittat ecclesiam memoratam et de fructibus medio tempore perceptis satisfacere non omittat. Quod si ad ammonicionem vestram id facere recusarit, singulis diebus dominicis et festivis, accensis candelis, excommunicetis eundem necnon et omnes illos qui

[1] Bois-Renou, either identical with or transferred to Le Perray-Neuf (Perredium, arr. La Flèche, dep. of Sarthe) in the diocese of Angers. According to Hugo, the abbot of whom complaint is here made is Stephen, and the date 1216 (*Monumenta*, i. 84 notes, *Annales*, ii. 546). By 1218 there was an abbot to whom Gervase entrusted the supervision of a most unusual form of abbatial election by lot at L'Étoile (dep. of Vendôme) in the diocese of Chartres (ep. 76). The lady Margaret was buried at Le-Perray-Neuf in 1235.

[2] The deans of the churches of St.-Pierre-du-Parvis and St. Vedast, Soissons.

eum in contumacia sua fovere aut ei sive in molendino sive in furno sive in negociacione aut alio quocunque modo presumpserint communicare. Hoc igitur mandatum nostrum, immo apostolicum, taliter impleatis ne ecclesia sepedicta pro defectu iusticie ad nostram audienciam recurrere compellatur et nos a vobis et culpam requiramus et penam.

[fo. 105*r*] lxxxxii. *Regraciacio oracionum concessarum.*

Reverendo in Christo patri G. abbati premonstratensi et abbatum eiusdem ordinis generali conventui Engelbertus dei permissione sancte coloniensis ecclesie archiepiscopus[1] salutem et intime dilectionis constanciam. Gracie vestre literas per abbatem de Kenestede[2] dilectum nostrum nobis transmissas ea qua decuit recepimus benignitate, et inspecto earundem tenore, quod participacionem [fo. 105*v*] oracionum et omnium spiritualium beneficiorum que in ordine vestro decetero fient nobis concedere dignati estis, ad graciarum vobis assurgimus uberimas acciones, quod pro tanta gracia a sanctitate vestra nobis concessa, cordi nostro non modica iocunditas est infusa, cum id supra meritorum nostrorum exigenciam nobis duxeritis concedendum. Indubitatam igitur de fraternitate vestra gerentes fiduciam, vobis devotissime supplicamus ut quod circa personam nostram liberaliter fecistis, de vestra solita clemencia dignemini innovari, securi de nobis quod vigili cura et studio diligenti super hiis intendere curabimus que comodum vestrum pariunt et honorem.

lxxxxiii. *Innovacio oracionum conceditur.*

[R]everentissimo in Christo patri et domino E.[3] dei providencia sancte coloniensis ecclesie venerabili archiepiscopo frater G. dei patiencia Premonstrati dictus abbas et abbatum eiusdem ordinis capitulum generale salutem et cum oracionibus scincere devocionis obsequium. Dignacionis vestre literas grato recipientes affectu, evidenter satis comprehendimus in eisdem et eum quem erga ordinem nostrum geritis paterne scinceritatis affectum et proprie cautelam salu-[fo. 106*r*]tis. Unde istud laudabile in vobis exhiberi videmus quod in prelatis nostri temporis passim minime reperitur, quod in rerum videlicet culmine constituti, quod pontificali dignitate vigentes, inter mundi turbines et negociorum perplexa volumina non obliviscimini status vestri, ut de Marthe sollicitudine interdum fiat reditus ad Mariam et inter Lye lippitudines[4] interioris sollicitet iocunditatis amplexus pulcritudo Rachelis, sitque ipsa sponsa variis hinc inde sumptis nominibus, ex meritis accionum nigra pariter et formosa.[5] Sane oraciones quas innovari petistis libenter et fideliter innovantes, ut in conspectum domini aromatum fumus ascendat, et perpetue caritatis incensum vigeat iugiter

[1] Engelbert I, archbishop of Cologne, 29th February, 1216-7th November, 1225.

[2] Gottschalk I (1216-26), abbot of the Prem. house of Knechtsteden (Kr. Neuss), in the diocese of Cologne. (Hugo, *Annales*, ii. 5 and Backmund, *Monasticon*, i. 177).

[3] MS. *G.*, but Engelbert is obviously intended.

[4] Cf. Gregory, Moralia, vii. 37 and Hom. Ezech., ii. 2.

[5] MS. *pariter* follows *et formosa*, marked for transposition ; cf. Cant. 1, 4.

in altari, concedimus vobis plenam omnium oracionum et spiritualium beneficiorum tocius nostri ordinis participacionem ad mortem pariter et ad vitam, et preter hec cum generali capitulo sub testimonio presencium vester fuerit obitus nunciatus, tantum fiet pro vobis quantum pro uno ex nostris, in missis, oracionibus, et in psalmis. Quia denique spirituali quadam proximitate utpote frater ordinis astrictior solito nobis estis, vestre dilectissime fraternitati supplicamus humiliter et attente quatinus intuitu dei et proprie honestatis ecclesiam claholtensem[1] protegere et defensare velitis, ut sub alis vestre proteccionis in eius obsequio cui servire regnare est et devota permaneat et secura consistat. Specialiter autem cuiusdam Frederici[2] qui in eadem ecclesia fuit, in qua sibi multum nocuit et aliis parum profuit, necnon et consanguineorum eius reprimatis insultus, ne vir religiosus qui ipsi ecclesie modo preest per importunitatem ipsorum, si locum habuerint malignandi, inpedimentum accipiat quominus proficere possit in spiritualibus et in temporalibus reformandis. Dat' Premonstrati anno gracie m° cc° xviii in crastino beati Dionisii [10th Oct., 1218].

[fo. 107*v*] lxxxxv. *Oraciones ordinis conceduntur episcopo linguonensi.*[3]

[R]everendo in Christo patri et domino G. dei gracia quondam lynguonensi episcopo[4] frater G. dictus abbas Premonstrati et abbatum eiusdem ordinis capitulum generale salutem et cum oracionibus scinceram ad obsequia voluntatem. Receptis literis paternitatis vestre in quibus nostre ordinis petistis vobis oraciones concedi, ex humili earum peticione quadam sumus erga paternitatem vestram speciali affectione commoti. Attendentes igitur et humilem petitionem necnon et vestram devocionem erga ordinis nostri ecclesias pariter et personas, plenam omnium oracionum et spiritualium beneficiorum tocius ordinis nostri participacionem ad vitam concedimus et ad mortem. Specialiter autem in obitu vestro, cum nostro capitulo generali sub presencium testimonio fuerit nunciatus, tantum fiet pro vobis quantum pro uno ex nostris in missis, oracionibus, et in psalmis. [fo. 108*r*]Rogamus autem quatinus, recentis huius ac spiritualis fraternitatis intuitu, devocio quam erga ordinem nostrum hactenus habuistis in posterum non tepescat set cotidianum sumat ex divino munere incrementum.

[1] Clarholz (Kr. Wiedenbrück), in the diocese of Osnabrück.

[2] Other letters about Frederick and his predecessor are in Hugo's collection, epp. 11, 94, 104-107. Ep. 94 is addressed to Archbishop Engelbert, and is dated [1218] by R. Knipping, *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln*, iii (1909), 42 n. 222. Knipping does not record the letters printed above. For the wicked Frederick of Clarholz 1188-1216, see J. P. Schneider, 'Propst Friedrich von Clarholz' in *Westfäl. Ztsch.* (1884), 107-28, and *Anal. praem.*, v. 333-6, vi. 281-332. Ep. 122 was written by Gervase to Engelbert on another matter.

[3] Besides this and the preceding letters, there are several in Hugo's collection requesting or granting confraternity with Prémontré : ep. 51 (to Queen Ingeborg), 52 (from the bishop of Bamberg), 53-54 (from and to the bishop of Laon), 90 (to the bishop of Winchester), 91 (to the archbishop of Sens). Another *forma* for a letter of this sort, employing some of the same phrases, is printed by Le Paige, *Bibliotheca*, i. 323-324.

[4] Guillaume de Joinville, bishop of Langres 1209-1218, translated to Reims early in 1219.

[fo. 114*v*] Centesimum iii. *Ne convocacio aut festa fiant in primis missis celebrandis.*

Frater fratri salutem et scinceram in domino caritatem. Veniens pridie Premonstratum R. celerarius de Radulphi Vadis [1] rogavit me ex parte vestra ut cum ipse et frater G. venirent Cussiacum,[2] ego cum illis veniens vestre prime misse satagerem interesse. Ego itaque ad ammonicionem eius proposueram ut venirem, set cum idem R. post prandium evocans me in partem moneret me semel et iterum ut venirem munitus pittancia bona pariter et honesta, concidit vultus meus et aversum est cor meum a proposito veniendi. Porro si ex sensu suo hoc dixerit, indulgeatur ei, quia novi eum esse et in verbis facilem et in loquendo minime circumspectum. Set si processit ex vestro mandato vel consilio verbum illud, scire vos volo quia non proposui pre gaudio presbiteratus vestri facere neomenias vel eciam scenophegias veteris testamenti,[3] in quibus secundum nominis interpretacionem solebant veteres in umbraculis [fo. 115*r*] epulari. Scenos enim umbra, fagin comedere, dicitur, sicut forsitan ipsi nostis. Consulo igitur vobis et mando ex debito fraternitatis affectu, quatinus, cooperante dei gracia caveatis ne primicie divini ministerii quod geritis appetitu inanis glorie vicientur, set ad hoc precipue dirigatur intencio ut sacerdocium vestrum illi proveniat ad honorem qui ex dignacione sua pocius quam ex meritis vestris in usum huius ministerii vos assumpsit. Exturbetur a mente vestra omnis appetitus preminencie temporalis, ut in ea humilitas solita perseveret, ne dum exterior homo vester causa presbiteratus extollitur, interior detrimentum ex inani gloria paciatur. Plura siquidem de ordine presbiteratus ad exhortacionem vestram in modum tractatuli scriptitarem nisi fraternitatis affeccio quam in vobis sencio tepidam, immo nullam, a scribendi proposito me averteret, vim tamen michi faciens si aliquando exoccupatus fuero, extorquebo forsitan a meipso ut in hac parte exequar quod propono, cum tamen in vobis resuscitatum comperero emortuum fraternitatis affectum. Ceterum quidam nescio quis Henricus de Florefia qui ut intellexi Cussiaci moram [fo. 115*v*] facit, misit michi nuper ridmum quendam adulatorium, cui libenter si multiplices mee occupaciones permitterent responderemus, eo quod videbatur michi rithmus ille multis vigiliis et studio comparatus Illum autem H. peto ex parte mea velud specialem amicum attencius salutari. Valete in domino et super consequenda humilitate intima pro me et pro vobis apud dominum laborate.

ciiii. *Abbas petit ut episcopus auxilietur canonico suo in agendis.*

Tusculanensi [4] episcopo. Cum semper crediderim ex quo in noticiam vestram veni quod personam meam licet immeritam dilexeritis et ipsa dileccionis veritas erga me et multociens et multipliciter apparuerit in effectu, curavi hactenus

[1] Presumably the house said by Hugo to have been founded from Cuissy, and described by him (*Annales*, i. 114) as *Rodulphi Vadum*, or Roüez, near to Genlis. This was presumably Rouy, a few kilometres S.E. of Villequier-Aumont, or Genlis (arr. Laon, dep. of Aisne), in the diocese of Laon.

[2] Prem. abbey of Cuissy (dep. of Aisne), in the diocese of Laon.

[3] Cf. II Chronicles 2, 4 and I Maccabees 10, 21.

[4] MS. *Tusculanessi*. Nicholas, cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, to whom Gervase wrote a similar letter in Hugo's collection, ep. 61.

et semper deo dante curabo ut erga vos iugiter in graciarum accione persistam et ad vestre obsequia sanctitatis devotam habeam voluntatem, paratus per omnia devocionem ipsam exerere per effectum cum modicitati mee vel posse dabitur vel oportunitas offeretur. Unde fit ut cum necessitate aliqua ad apostolicam sedem recurrens serenitati vestre me oportet pro [fo. 116r] petendo consilio supplicare, ipsa promptitudo obsequii quam in me sencio supplicandi dat ausum, et benignitas quam in vobis ex premissis conicio [1] inpetrandi pollicetur effectum. Sane licet vobis in iterata peticione possim forsitan onerosus videri, attendens tamen quod is ex cuius dileccionis veritate presumitur ex peticionis frequencia non lassatur, serenitati vestre omni qua possum devocione, attencione supplico et affectu, quatinus latores presencium N. et N. habeatis in domino [2] commendatos et eisdem in procurandis negociis que illorum sollicitudini sunt commissa, et illo precipue super quo alias scripsi vobis etiam pro quo [3] sum constitutus in arcto, eo quod michi nondum ab apostolica [4] dignacione responsum est super illo, consilii vestri velitis patrocinium inpertiri. Porro ut pro dicto negocio supplicarem secundo compulit me quidem et necessitas qua coarctor et confidencia qua presumo.

[1] MS. *cōnicio*.
[2] MS. adds *collaudatos*, expunged.
[3] MS. has *alias* . . . *quo* as a marginal addition by the original hand.
[4] MS. adds *sede*, expunged.

ALDUS MANUTIUS
(From the binding of the Rylands Vergil of 1501)

[*To face page* 57.

ALDUS MANUTIUS, THE SCHOLAR-PRINTER, 1450-1515 [1]

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.Litt., D.D.

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THE year of the birth of Aldus Manutius is not known for certain. The dates ascribed to the event vary from 1447 to 1450. The most probable date, as Firmin-Didot points out, is 1450. But last year the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana of Venice, in which town Aldus learned the art of printing and established himself as printer, held an exhibition of the works printed by him to celebrate the quincentenary of his birth. In so doing those responsible indicated the year 1449 as the date accepted by them.

The birthplace of Aldus is also uncertain. Some have held that it was Rome from the fact that he later entitled himself Romanus. But from the first page of the first volume of his Aristotle, published in 1495, he apparently describes himself as from Bassiano, a small town in close proximity to Velletri and the Pontine Marshes.

His Italian name was Aldo (short for Theobaldo) [2] Manucio (Manuzio), latinized as Aldus Manutius. The Italians of his epoch showed a predilection for the use of Christian names rather than surnames, so he was mostly known as Aldo (or Aldus), less generally as Manutius. It is through this Christian name that he and his printing press have become familiar to us. The full name which he later adopted was Aldus Pius Manutius Romanus. He was authorized to use the name Pius first in 1503. It was the family name of the Prince of Carpi and he it was who gave Aldus permission to adopt it as

[1] A lecture delivered to the Proprietors of the Athenaeum, Liverpool, on 22nd April, 1950.

[2] A. A. Renouard: *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1834, p. 372, maintains that Aldo was his baptismal name, and that there was a saint of that name.

a high mark of his esteem and friendship. Aldus had tutored Albertus Pius and his younger brother Leonellus, and there was a strong bond of affection between teacher and pupils.

Of the family name of Manucio nothing is known. Aldus' grandson—named Aldus after him—sought to claim connexion with the wealthy Florentine family of Manucci. It is certain, however, that neither Aldus, nor his son Paul who succeeded him as printer, claimed any such relationship. Nor, when Aldus instituted his trade-mark (an anchor with a dolphin entwined), did it bear any resemblance to the coat of arms of the Manucci family.

Of Aldus' early life we know very little definite. It is established that he spent some time in Rome where he studied under two celebrated scholars, Gaspar of Verona and Domizio Calderini. Next we hear of him in Ferrara, which boasted a university (founded some two hundred years earlier) and had become a centre of culture. There he attended the lectures of Battista Guarino, from whom he learned Greek, and to whom he dedicated the volume containing Theocritus and Hesiod which he printed in 1495.[1] We are told also, that Aldus himself taught whilst in Ferrara and that one of his pupils was the young Albertus Pius. But the war in which Venice and Ferrara were engaged at this time interrupted Aldus' studies. Ferrara was attacked and everyone who could flee, fled. Thus in 1482 Aldus sought refuge with the rich and noble Count Johannes Picus of Mirandola who had been a fellow student at Ferrara. The kind-hearted count was both patron and guardian of refugee scholars from Greece, and Aldus had as fellow-guest Emmanuel Adramyttenos from Crete. The latter was one of the band of educated Greeks who at this time sought refuge in Italy, bearing with them their mother tongue as practically their only stock-in-trade. They wandered from Sicily to the Alps earning a scanty living as teachers of Greek, as proof-readers to printers or as copyists of Greek manuscripts. Picus sheltered Adramyttenos partly from natural kindness, but partly also to learn from him

[1] In his dedication he says : " It was under Gaspar of Verona, that excellent grammarian, that in Rome I learned Latin literature, and it was under you, Guarini, that I perfected myself in the Greek and Latin languages at Ferrara ".

the Greek language, as was the common practice of the time. Aldus' intimacy with Adramyttenos for two years under the same roof largely accounted for the familiarity with the Greek language both in speaking and writing which he was later to display. In deploring with him the misfortunes of Greece subjugated by the Turks, Aldus was devoured with the same burning passion for that land as Byron later displayed, and took pride in attaching to his name the title φιλέλλην which he first used in the second volume of his Aristotle.

In the year 1485 the household separated. Adramyttenos accompanied Picus to Pavia where he died the same year. A letter of Aldus to Politian[1] deplores the death of Adramyttenos whom he describes as 'homo et moribus apprime ornatus et graecis litteris saneque doctus, meique amantissimus'. Aldus meantime had taken up his abode in the house of the sister of Picus, the widowed Princess Catharina of Carpi, to teach her two sons, Albertus and Leonellus Pius, both Latin and Greek. In a letter[2] addressed to their mother written in Latin about the year 1488, he lays down precepts for their education and mentions that he has composed some writings to make things easy for them to learn grammar. Albertus especially was a gifted boy like his uncle Picus, and on him Aldus built his fondest hopes. It was to this Albertus, Prince of Carpi, that he later dedicated so many of his important editions and especially his Aristotle. There was a strong bond of affection between Aldus and his pupils. Thus Albertus could address a letter to Aldus 'excellentissimo praeceptori amantissimo meo domino Aldo Manutio Pio'.

The great handicap for both teacher and pupil alike in those days was the lack of aids to learning. Grammars and lexicons were few and far between and such as existed were not directly helpful, being overloaded with a mass of useless abstract definitions. Indeed, they were more of a hindrance than a help to beginners. As far as the Greek language was concerned Greek grammars were only composed by Greeks and written

[1] Published in Aldus' edition of *Omnia Opera Aug. Politiani*, Venice, 1498.

[2] See *Aldi Pii Manutii scripta longe rarissima a Jac. Morellio denuo edita.* Bassani, 1806.

throughout in that language. The first printed Latin translation of a Greek grammar appeared as late as 1489.

Lexical aids were in worse case than grammatical aids. The older dictionaries were full of errors and omissions. The first Greek-Latin lexicon, that of the monk Craston (or Creston), was printed about 1480 but only gave meagre assistance. The earliest Greek lexicons were in Greek and were only of use to those who already knew that language. The learner, in fact, had to depend almost entirely on his teacher and the language had to be learned directly from the text. As we have already noted, Aldus, as teacher, felt the need of instructional aids and composed a number of short treatises on grammar, accents, metre, etc., some of which he later printed.

We have no certain knowledge of the course of Aldus' life during the intervening years before he made his appearance in Venice in 1494. It would seem, however, that his career was shaped by an incident that happened whilst he was engaged in teaching the young princes. Picus of Mirandola paid a visit on one occasion to his relatives of Carpi, and there was discussion concerning the barbarity of the age and the possible means of overcoming it. The agreement and support of the princes brought the eager and enthusiastic Aldus to the conclusion that a printing press for spreading abroad the wisdom and culture of the ancients, especially the Greeks, would prove all-important for the revival of learning. Greek books were largely unprinted and existed only in manuscripts expensive to purchase and hard to find. And the Greek writing with its breathings and accents presented problems from which printers shrank. From only four towns, Milan, Venice, Vicenza and Florence, had Greek books been produced before Aldus began in 1495. Aldus' enthusiasm stirred the princes to give active support to this idealistic venture, the success of which appeared to them assured when a man like Aldus was willing to take the matter in hand and be both editor and printer. They knew him as a combination of scholar and man of affairs and withal of the highest character.

What was the background against which Aldus made his debut as crusader for culture towards the end of the fifteenth

century? The fall of the Greek empire in 1453 did not mean the obliteration of ancient Greek learning. Educated Greeks fled to Italy bearing manuscripts, and the language and culture of Greece. The Italian admiration for Greek literary treasures which had never been entirely extinguished, was thereby revived and the tragedy of Greece awakened fresh feelings of sympathy for her people. But the Italy of this time was not a land of high culture. The fall of the Roman Empire had dragged down with it scholarship and the arts. Few Latin authors were now read. The texts supplied by the copyists were faulty in the extreme and frequently imperfect. Knowledge of the Greek language had almost disappeared and the works of the famous Greek writers of old were known only through bad Latin translations. The Latin in use was debased and corrupted to serve the purposes and needs of ecclesiastics and scholastics.

It was the revival of interest in the classical authors which revitalized everything—arts, science, law, etc. The famous Italian writers of the preceding century, Petrarch and Boccaccio, had rendered good service by appealing to and quoting the works of the great classical authors, and thus played a pioneering part in rescuing Italy from its widespread ignorance and barbarity. The enthusiasm they kindled burned brightly and Italy became the Mecca for European scholars. Knowledge of Greek did not keep pace with Latin. Petrarch knew little or no Greek and a very slight acquaintance with Greek was sufficient to win fame for Boccaccio. But the infiltration of Greek scholars which began about this time encouraged the study of the Greek language and the spread of the virtues and excellences of that glory which was Greece. Universities were being founded in Italy; libraries, such as the Vatican, were being instituted. When printing and printers came to Italy from Germany in the latter half of the fifteenth century, many of the works of the Latin writers were quickly printed. Manuscripts to serve the printing presses were eagerly sought. Monasteries up and down the land were ransacked and many precious manuscripts were recovered from holes and dark corners where they had lain, worm-eaten and neglected, covered with the dust of centuries. Every discovery of a new work, miraculously preserved, was

hailed with enthusiasm. Many of the works thus recovered were those of authors known hitherto by name only.

In or about the year 1490 Aldus left Carpi and settled in Venice in order to equip himself for the great task that lay ahead of him by learning the trade of printer. Why did he choose Venice? Well, Venice was the wealthy and mighty seaport which as early as 1420 had a population of 190,000. When Aldus elected to make it his headquarters it was the centre of the printing industry in Italy. In the year 1500, indeed, it had within its bounds no fewer than two hundred printing houses, a sure indication that conditions there were favourable for their operation. It was a city of wealthy merchant-princes and the tentacles of its trade spread far and wide. Because of its geographical situation and its enlightened government it was the safest and most desirable place in the peninsula in which to dwell. To Aldus it made a special appeal, for it was the magnet to which the refugee Greek scholars were irresistibly drawn. In addition it had established a fine library from the books and manuscripts bequeathed to it by Cardinal Bessarion and Petrarch. The Cardinal's library alone possessed some six hundred Greek manuscripts, of several of which Aldus made use later in the preparation of his editions.

We are told that Aldus delivered lectures on the classical authors with great acceptance when he first took up residence in Venice. This he did presumably as a means of earning a living. But principally he devoted himself to learning the art and craft of printing. We do not know for certain with whom he learned the trade, but it is suggested that it was with Andreas Torresanus of Asola, who in 1479 had acquired the printing press of the famous French printer and engraver Nicolas Jenson, before whom it had belonged to John of Speyer. This seems probable for it would account for the close association of Aldus and Torresanus, and for the fact, too, that Aldus later married Torresanus' daughter. Aldus apparently was older than his father-in-law, who survived Aldus by fourteen years, so his wife must have been much younger than Aldus, who married her in 1500 at the age of fifty. There was always the happiest of relations between the two men.

Having learned the trade Aldus set up his own printing press in the early nineties. Its site is not accurately known but it must have been in the neighbourhood of the church of San Augustino. The first dated book to issue from his press was a Greek grammar, the *Erotemata* of Lascaris with Latin translation, in the year 1494. Two undated works (the poem of Musaeus and the *Galeomyomachia*) are held by some to have been printed by him prior to this date. Soon a steady flow of editions of the classics issued from his press, as well as the works of Italian authors such as Dante and Petrarch and contemporary writers such as Erasmus and Pietro Bembo (later Cardinal).

Aldus was not merely printer. He did his best to make his editions scholarly productions. He corrected as best he could the faulty manuscripts from which he had to work and brought their texts into order before publishing them. As far as text is concerned Aldus' Latin editions are generally better than his Greek. There were more Latin manuscripts and most of the works of the Latin writers had been printed before he came on the scene. In the case of the Greek writers Aldus was often the first to produce them. Aldus recognized the tentative nature of his editing and often expressed the wish that later editors might find a greater wealth of material with which to work and so enable them to establish more correct texts.

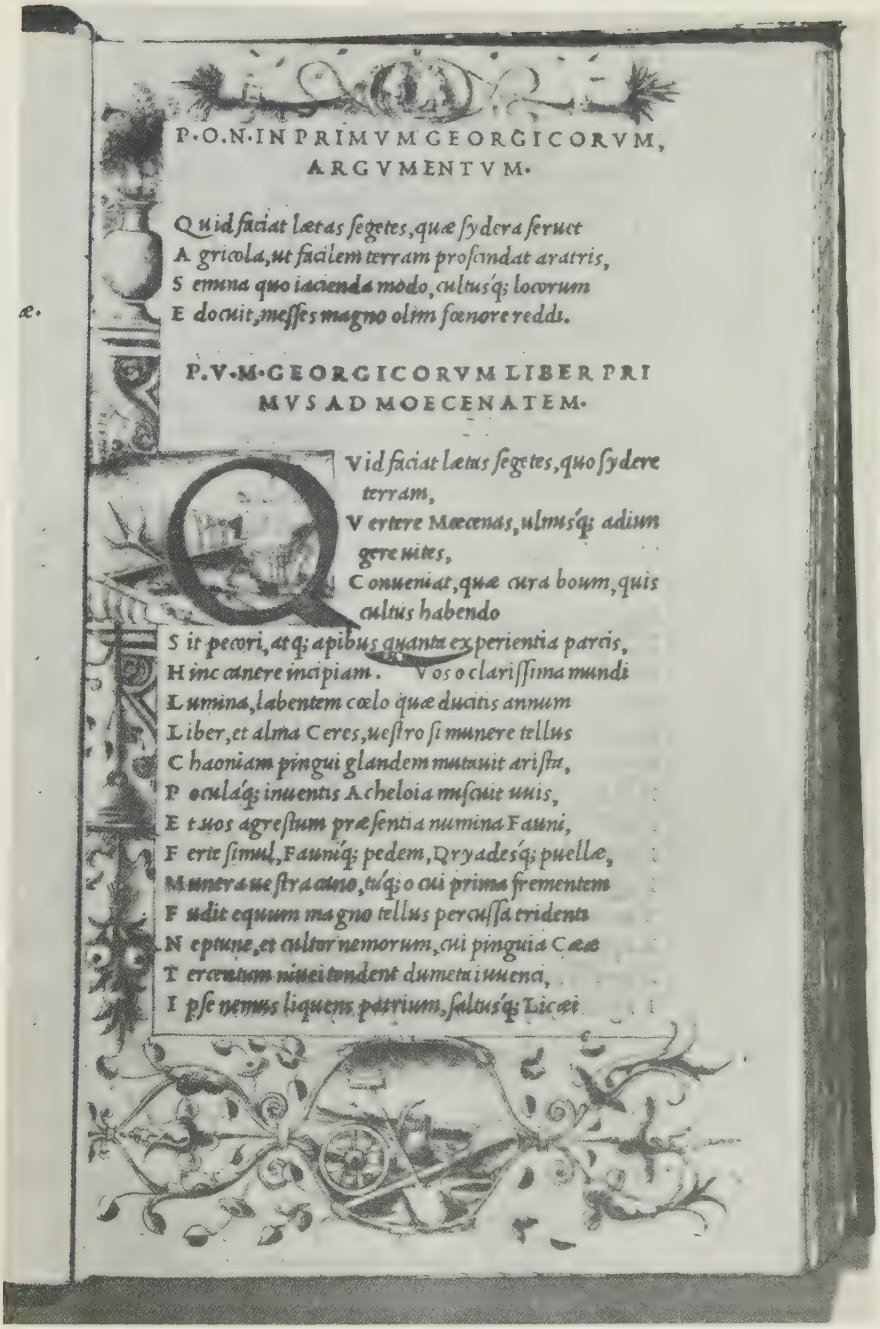
With the arrival of printing the copyists of manuscripts, in Italy as elsewhere, perceived that their occupation was in jeopardy, and in some places, Genoa for instance, there were demonstrations by the copyists against the printers. In 1474 the copyists petitioned the Senate of Genoa to expel the printers. Printing, however, did not have things all its own way. When the novelty of this 'new writing' had begun to wear off, the uniformity and sameness of the isolated letters of the printed text tended to jar on those accustomed to the fluidity and individuality of the copyists' work. In the writing of Greek particularly the expert scribes had scope for their art, and they adorned their writing with a wealth of ligatures and artistic flourishes and fluidities. Aldus was led away by the desire to compete in printing with the running pen and to base the design and form of his types on the cursive writing of his own day. Thus

for his Greek type he took as his model the handwriting of his friend Marcus Musurus which he greatly admired. The result was that he overloaded his fount with a mass of over a thousand 'sorts', making type-setting a slow and burdensome process. But seemingly he gave his customers what they wanted. He set the fashion for Greek type which persisted for centuries after him and saddled the printing of Greek text with a host of involved ligatures whose intricacy has proved a handicap to readers unfamiliar with them. Aldus designed but did not cut his own type. He employed the expert cutters, Francesco Bononi and Julio Campasnola. The famous French printer Jenson was better placed. He could both design and cut his own type since he was originally an engraver.

Aldus was more successful in his roman than his greek. He invented a distinctive sloping roman tending towards the cursive based on the handwriting of Petrarch. And this form has continued down to the present day. It was first known as Venetian or Aldino in Italy. By the French it was called italique. We know it to-day as italics. Aldus first made use of it in his edition of Vergilwhichh epublished in 1501. In 1502 the Venetian Senate assigned to the Aldine Press the exclusive use of the new type for the next ten years and Pope Leo X and two of his successors in the papacy granted him letters of privilege entitling him to the sole rights of his typographic invention.

The invention of new forms of type was not the only enterprise of Aldus. He it was who popularized the small format in books, especially the octavo. Hitherto the classics had been published in large folio editions with broad margins for the use of scholars for note taking. These great, heavy tomes required a reading desk for their use. For a scholar to take them on his travels meant a heavy addition to the baggage. Aldus reduced the size of his types and brought out pocket editions of the classics. The small octavo format was just what scholars wanted, and it made for cheapness as well as convenience. Its popularity was instantaneous.

Aldus was a man of many parts. He not only printed and published, he was also a bookseller, selling not only his own publications but those of rival printers. Bookbinding,



P·O·N·IN PRIMVM GEORGICORVM,
ARGVMENTVM·

Quid faciat lætas segetes, quæ sydera seruet
Agricola, ut facilem terram proscindat aratris,
Semina quo iacienda modo, cultusq; locorum
Edocuit, messes magno olim fœnore reddi.

P·V·M·GEORGICORVM LIBER PRI
MVS AD MOECENATEM·

Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sydere terram,
Vertere Mæcenas, ulmisq; adiungere uites,
Conueniat, quæ cura boum, quis cultus habendo
Sit pecori, atq; apibus quanta experientia parcis,
Hinc canere incipiam. Vos o clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum
Liber, et alma Ceres, uestro si munere tellus
Chaoniam pingui glandem mutauit arista,
Poculaq; inuentis Acheloia miscuit uuis,
Et uos agrestum præsentia numina Fauni,
Ferte simul, Faunique pedem, Dryadesq; puellæ,
Munera uestra cano, tuq; o cui prima frementem
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti
Neptune, et culturnemorum, cui pinguia Cææ
Tercentum niuei tondent dumeta iuuenci,
Ipse nemus linquens patrium, saltusq; Lycæi

PAGE FROM THE ALDINE VERGIL OF 1501

[*To face page* 64.

too, was done on the premises. He maintained a not inconsiderable retinue of correctors, proof-readers, interpreters, typesetters, bookbinders, etc. Every day, it is said, over thirty persons sat down to meals in his house. He was scholar, text critic, philologist, grammarian, historian of literature, moralist. In the beginning of the year 1498 Aldus was stricken with the plague and in danger of death. He vowed that if he recovered he would enter the priesthood. He did recover, but he was absolved from his vow by Pope Alexander VI in August of the same year. It is said of him that he was one of the finest and noblest personalities of his age.

At the time when Aldus began to print, only four Greek classics had been published in Italy with Greek text, Aesop (Milan, 1480), Homer (Venice, 1486), Theocritus, Isocrates (Milan, 1493).[1] But Aldus quickly changed the situation. From 1494 to his death in 1515, with slight interruptions due to war conditions, a steady stream of Greek texts issued from his press, and thereafter the tradition was carried on by his son Paul and his grandson Aldus the Younger. Aldus in all his work set and maintained a high standard of excellence. His books were distinguished for their great artistry, good printing and fine paper. The paper used by Aldus was manufactured at Fabriano, a small town renowned for the excellent quality of its paper, which combined all the qualities most desired, fineness, whiteness, strength, and glossy surface. Scholars could thus make notes in ink on the margins. The quick succession of his editions caused astonishment and bred the suspicion that he drove his workers too hard. He had trouble with them according to himself, on four occasions, but was able to overcome their conspiracy "prompted by avarice, the mother of all evils".[2]

Aldus was scholar first and printer afterwards. In his day there were no learned periodicals in which scholars could express their views and record their researches. In consequence

[1] Greek type was first used in Germany in 1501 and in France in 1507.

[2] "Quater jam in aedibus nostris ab operis et stipendiariis in me conspiratum est, duce malorum omnium matre: Avaritia. Quos, Deo adjuvante, sic fregi, ut valde omnes poeniteat suae perfidiae." See his *Monitum in Lugdunenses Typographos*, 1503.

they were impelled to form themselves into societies for interchange of information on the subjects in which they were interested. Aldus gathered around him an Academy of about thirty members which included professors, priests, physicians, lawyers, writers, proof-readers, etc. The Academy, instituted in 1500, held regular meetings at his house. Conditions of membership were knowledge and love of the Greek language and ability to speak it. Visiting scholars who fulfilled the conditions were admitted to the circle. Thus Erasmus when in Venice was a member, as was also Thomas Linacre, the first English Hellenist of note.

The unbreakable rule of the Academy was that Greek and Greek only must be spoken. " If anyone amongst us expresses himself otherwise, whether on purpose or inadvertently, through forgetfulness of the law, or through any fortuitous circumstance, he shall pay as fine a small piece of money." There was no fine for solecisms unless committed of set purpose. The fine had to be paid forthwith. " If he (the culprit) does not pay immediately the fine will be doubled, then quadrupled, and so on proportionately to the delay." Refusal to pay involved expulsion. The money was placed in a purse or box designed for the purpose and put under the charge of a member elected for this office. At intervals, on resolution of the Academy, the box was opened and if enough money was found inside, it was given over to Aldus to provide a feast for the members, " not a mere printers' feast, but one worthy of men who have realized the grand dream of a new Academy and have instituted it ". The rules were written in Greek.

It speaks volumes for Aldus' character and influence that he was and remained the focal point of the group. He enjoyed a great reputation amongst his contemporaries as a scholar, based partly on his lectures and his writings, partly on the impression left by personal contact. His wide knowledge of the classics made a profound and lasting impression upon them. The desire to claim friendship with him was widespread and embraced many lands. He dedicated the books which issued from his press to friends of all nationalities and the dedications, of high literary merit, are one of their important features.

They were written in polished Latin or Greek as the case might be. In the dedication of his Aristotle to his former pupil, the Prince of Carpi, Aldus insists on the value of the study of Greek. " If formerly it was said that Cato, when old, was seen studying Greek in Rome, so now in our day with us old men do the same. And amongst the youth Greek is studied equally with Latin. Greek manuscripts, also, are avidly sought, but they are so rare that it is only with the help of God that I hope to remedy this defect by consecrating all my strength and all my resources to aid the friends of letters. And in what an age! When arms are much more handled than books! I shall not rest until I have reaped a rich harvest."

The wars which threw Italy into disorder at this time had their effect on Aldus. One day in the year 1506 when he was returning from Lombardy, whither he had gone in search of manuscripts, he was arrested as a spy by the soldiery of the Prince of Mantua. He was held prisoner for three or four days before he was identified and released with an apology and the return of his possessions. Because of war he had twice in his short career as a printer to close his printing house and leave Venice for a period. The first departure was in 1506-1507 and the second in 1509-1511. Of his fortunes and activities during his absence from Venice we know little. On the first occasion he visited Milan where he was received with honour by the scholars there. In 1507 he entered into partnership with his father-in-law and the business became active again. Between the years 1509 and 1511 it was again at a standstill. Aldus had almost decided to give up printing altogether and abandon his great project when a wealthy friend came to his rescue with fresh capital.[1] So the year 1512 and particularly the years 1513 and 1514 show Aldus' press in full and expanding activity.

His labours were such that he had hardly time to eat or sleep. In his dedication to all scholars which prefaces his *Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis* (1496) he wrote: " Since I have imposed on myself this duty (i.e. printing editions of the classics) I can affirm on oath that I have never enjoyed

[1] Said to have been Petrus Franciscus, son of the Doge Barbarigo, who subsidized Aldus with several thousand ducats.

during all these years one hour of peaceful repose. Everyone praises my work, its usefulness, its beauty, its honourableness, that is true; but to give you good books means a life dedicated to toil." As the years passed the pressure increased. In the year 1514 he wrote in the dedication of his edition of Cicero's rhetorical writings to the Venetian Senator Naugero: "Two things especially from a hundred others are a perpetual annoyance to me. First, the numerous letters of learned men which reach me from all quarters. Were I to answer all these I should require to spend day and night doing nothing save writing letters. The second is the great number of visitors. They come sometimes to see how I am, sometimes to ask what new work is in hand, sometimes from want of anything else to do. In which case they say to themselves: 'Let's go to Aldus!'. Then they sit there dully like the leech which never leaves your skin until it has sucked its fill. And as for those who bring me their creations in verse and prose desirous of having them printed, I cannot trust myself to speak of them! At long last I have set out to free myself from these interruptions. Unimportant letters I answer not at all, important ones only laconically. No one should take this amiss for such time as is left me I shall expend on the production of good books. As for visitors, I have had the following notice put over the door of my room: 'Whoever you are Aldus begs you urgently to finish your business with him in few words and then take yourself off, otherwise you must be come to offer your shoulders like Hercules when Atlas was tired. Here there is work for you and for all who come here!'"

The fever of his desire to fulfil his self-imposed task so consumed him that it brought on an illness from which in the year 1515 he died. A few months before his death he made his will, and as one of his executors he named the Duchess of Ferrara, the celebrated Lucretia Borgia, that enlightened patron of art and letters with whom tradition has dealt so unkindly and so unjustly. The last rites were paid to the deceased in the church of St. Patrinian in the immediate neighbourhood of which he apparently lived. Round the coffin in the church as he lay in state were piled the books which he had printed and for which he had given his life.

In the preface to his *Adagia*, printed by Aldus, Erasmus compared the glory of Aldus to that which Ptolemy gained in creating the great library at Alexandria. That, however, was confined within the walls, whilst the creation of Aldus had no bounds save those of the universe. And Theodore Beza later praised Aldus in Latin verse in which he claimed that Aldus might justly and fairly be accounted a god since he had been able to restore so many dead poets to life.[1]

After Aldus' death his friend Egnatius, a member of his Academy and the tutor of Aldus' son Paul, in a preface to the edition of Lactantius printed by the house of Aldus, wrote of his friend that he associated with all scholars, never doing aught to detract from their fame or to impede its spread, but surrounding them with almost unbelievable affection. He went on: "There is no land, no people within the bounds of Europe where the name of Aldus is not known and revered. Many famous men have visited Venice solely on his account to greet him and even to bring him presents. Not the great and wonderful city drew them to her by her beauty, but the magnetism of a single man. Vehemently they urged upon him to persevere to the utmost in his resolve to restore to their former glory the Latin and Greek languages. As he applied himself to the task day and night he was stricken down with a long and lasting illness from which he died. Even if it was at his set time, it was to our deep grief."

Aldus was survived by his wife Maria, three sons and a daughter. The eldest son became a priest; his third son Paul, after certain business difficulties were surmounted, succeeded his father in the printing press. He, too, was a fine scholar and was so steeped in Cicero that the Latin he wrote was markedly Ciceronian in style. His son Aldus, known as Aldus the Younger, carried on the family tradition. As a scholar he was not in the same class as his father and grandfather, but lived on their reputation. When he died in 1597 the famous printing house of Aldus came to an end.

[1] Quanto est justius aequiusque, quaeso,
Aldum Manutium deum vocare,
Ipsis qui potuit suo labore,
Vitam reddere mortuis poetis.

Erasmus, who had had an edition of his *Adagia* printed in Paris in the year 1500, came to Venice in 1508 in order to have an enlarged and improved edition printed by Aldus. The story goes that when Erasmus visited the printing house to discuss the matter with Aldus he was kept waiting long outside since Aldus was busy within, and had not been told the name of his visitor. Aldus was vexed when he discovered what had happened, welcomed the already famous man warmly, and arranged for him to be lodged in the house of his father-in-law, Andreas Torresanus. Erasmus not only busied himself with the preparation of his own work for the press, but assisted Aldus by preparing the text of a projected edition of Plautus for which work Aldus paid him twenty golden crowns. The elder Scaliger seized on this to describe Erasmus with measured contempt as a mere proof-reader in the pay of Aldus. Because of clerical influence the *Adagia* had no sale in Italy outside of Venice, but it was a great success in Germany and went through several editions. Paul Manutius was compelled to conceal the name of Erasmus in his catalogues under the vague designation 'Batavus quidam.' It has been argued that an estrangement developed between Erasmus and Aldus and that in his *Opulentia sordida* Erasmus lampooned Aldus, his family, friends and assistants under fictitious names because of their parsimoniousness and frugal living. But there seems to be no real ground for such a supposition. The fact that Aldus had to refer to him as 'Transalpinus quidam homo' was not due to private enmity but to a shrewd business instinct because of Erasmus being in such bad odour with the Church. Whilst we have no direct knowledge of further intercourse between the two, it is certain that Erasmus remained on the friendliest terms with Andreas Torresanus and his family as well as with Egnatius, and left a good name behind him in Venice. Erasmus, it must be said, was on one occasion rebuked by Egnatius. Wishing to pay the latter a great compliment Erasmus rated him above Aldus whilst recognizing the high merit of the famous scholar printer. Egnatius replied, " I, dearest Erasmus, cannot accept that praise bestowed on me at the expense of another. I can never even pride myself on being equal to Aldus, so much my superior do I regard him."

In the year 1502 Aldus adopted as emblem or trade mark an anchor with a dolphin entwined. It first appeared in his edition of Dante printed in that year, and was symbolic of the Latin adage ' festina lente ' corresponding to our ' more haste, less speed '. How he lighted upon the device is uncertain. Some say he got it from a woodcut of that character in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* printed by him in 1499. If Erasmus is to be believed he adopted it from a denarius of Titus Vespasian gifted to him by Pietro Bembo which bore the device with the inscription σπεῦδε βραδέως. Erasmus commented that the motto had evidently pleased Titus as much as, according to Suetonius, it had pleased Augustus.

The device was originally inserted between the AL and DUS of Aldus. It underwent changes in the course of time and when Paul Manutius was raised to the nobility in 1571 it became his crest, but surmounted by the imperial eagle.

The editions which issued from printing presses in the time of Aldus were not large. An edition of more than 275 copies was rare until the appearance of the smaller format, when the numbers increased to round about a thousand. The first edition of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* printed by John of Speyer in Venice in 1469 consisted of only 100 copies.[1] But even so some printers found difficulty in getting rid of their stock. Thus the famous German printers Sweynheim and Pannartz, who came to Italy and set up in partnership at Subiaco near Rome in 1464, complained in a letter to Pope Sixtus IV of their lack of sale and consequent poverty. Their house, they plead, is empty of necessities but full of unsold quires.

One of the greatest tributes paid to Aldus and one of his greatest worries was the counterfeiting of his octavo editions by printers elsewhere, notably in France at Lyons. So extensive was this practice that Aldus issued a pamphlet drawing the attention of the public to the defects in the counterfeit editions and the means by which the genuine could be distinguished from the counterfeit.[2] The Lyons editions are without notes;

[1] Only six copies of this edition appear to have survived, one of which our Library possesses.

[2] The Lyons printers who produced Aldine counterfeits were Huyton, Balthasar, Myt, Marescall and Gryphe. Out of Lyons the most notable was Giunti of Florence.

they have not the dolphin and anchor; the type has a certain Gallicity about it; the capitals are ugly; there are no ligatures, and so on. He applied to the government for protection and this was granted him by a decree of 14th November, 1502.

So much value was attached to the books of Aldus that soon collectors were busy. In Germany the earliest collectors of Aldines were Pirkheimer and Reuchlin and Jean Grolier in France. In Italy his octavos were much sought after. This is made clear by a letter of Henrich Loriti (Gloreanus) of Basle who wrote to Zwingli: "Wolfgang Lachner has sent people to Venice to bring the best authors in the Aldine editions. If you would have them, write to Lachner and send me the money; for there are always thirty there who want books without asking the price. Several don't understand them at all, but still want them."

The John Rylands Library is fortunate enough to possess a unique collection of Aldines. Of the 127 authenticated editions which issued from the press of Aldus Manutius up to and including the year of his death in 1515 the Library has copies of 120. The seven it does not possess consist of minor publications of few leaves, mainly pamphlets or catalogues. And of the 800 or so works which were produced by the Aldine Press in the hundred years of its existence it possesses a copy of almost every work of importance. As an interesting supplement it has very many examples of the counterfeit editions.

Aldus was, indeed, one of Italy's great sons, yet neither in Venice nor at Carpi was a monument erected in his honour. Thus Firmin-Didot the famous French bibliophile and a fervent admirer of Aldus could write in 1875: "His country, indeed, appears to have forgotten to-day one of its most illustrious sons. Of all the former glory of Aldus Manutius there remains only his books, relegated to the depths of libraries and known only to scholars. No one knows where lie his ashes, and the house which saw so many remarkable books issue from its walls is not even known with certainty. . . . One sees on the verge of one of the less frequented canals near San Augustino a house of sorry appearance. There it is thought with a great deal of probability was the famous printing press of Aldus. On a

marble plaque can be read this inscription, placed there in 1828 by the Abbé Vinc. Zenier :—

MANUCIA . GENS . ERUDITOR . NEM . IGNOTA
HOC . LOCI . ARTE . TYPOGRAPHICA . EXCELLUIT."

And here we must end this brief sketch of Aldus. What words can be more fitting with which to close than those of Ovid—words which Aldus himself printed? "Factum abiit: monumenta manent"—"The deed is past and gone: the memorials thereof remain."

THE MEANING OF SACRIFICE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT[1]

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THE religion of Israel, like many other religions, employed a ritual of sacrifice, and not a little of the Pentateuch is taken up with the regulations governing that ritual. To many readers of the Old Testament this has little meaning to-day, since animal sacrifice has long ceased for the Jews, while for the Christians it is superseded. Yet it clearly played an important part in the life of ancient Israel,[2] and it demands more study from those who would understand the Old Testament than is commonly given to it.[3] To examine in detail all the sacrifices of which we learn is manifestly impossible in a single lecture,[4] and all that I

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of February, 1950.

[2] H. Gressmann (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by F. M. Schiele and L. Zscharnack, iv, 1913, col. 959) says: 'Das Opfern war mit der Religion so selbstverständlich verbunden wie das Atmen mit dem Leben und brauchte daher nicht besonders eingeschärft zu werden'.

[3] Cf., for instance, the scanty space given to the question of sacrifice in M. Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, 1946, and O. J. Baab, *The Theology of the Old Testament*, 1949. Burrows says (p. 5): 'Large areas of Hebrew religion, such as animal sacrifice or the veneration of sacred places, require relatively little attention, because they ceased to be important for the religion of the New Testament'. The importance of Old Testament sacrifice is not negligible for the understanding of the New Testament, and still less for the understanding of the Old.

[4] The reader is referred for a fuller study to W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: the Fundamental Institutions*, 1889, 3rd ed., edited by S. A. Cook, 1927; G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament: its Theory and Practice*, 1925; A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der israelitischen Religion*, 1927; and W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel: their Origin, Purposes and Development*, 1937. Two long articles on the subject, still of value, are those of W. P. Paterson, in *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. by J. Hastings, iv, 1902, pp. 329 ff., and of G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, iv, 1907, cols. 4183 ff. Cf. also G. Widengren, *Religionens värld*, 1945, pp. 204 ff.

can attempt is a rapid survey in the effort to find the function of sacrifice in Israelite thought.

The fact that Israel shared a sacrificial cultus with other ancient religions suggests that it came out of a wider background, and was not something that had its origin within her own tradition. With every side of her religion, indeed, this was so. It has long been impossible to think of her as receiving divine commands for the establishment and organization of her religion at a given point of her history without relation to her own past or to the background of culture and religion in the contemporary world in which she lived.[1] More than ever has this become the case in recent years, in which our knowledge of that background has become rapidly richer and fuller. This does not mean, however—and I wish to make this quite clear at the outset—that the sufficient explanation of the Old Testament is to be found in the study of the thought and culture and practice of the surrounding peoples. Israel took over much, whose *origin* is therefore to be sought farther back. Its *meaning*, however, is not necessarily to be sought farther back. Often it was readapted and made the vehicle of her own faith and her own thought, and we have no right to assume that it was taken over unaltered in form or meaning.[2] For there was an element in her religion which she did not derive from any other people, but which was mediated to her through her own religious leaders, and especially through Moses, and what she took over was integrated into her own religion and made to serve its ends.

Again, however, I must guard myself against misunderstanding. Many of her people, and often her kings and leaders,

[1] For two quite different studies of Israel's development in the setting of her contemporary world, cf. W. C. Graham and H. G. May, *Culture and Conscience : an Archaeological Study of the New Religious Past in Ancient Palestine*, 1936, and W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity : Monotheism and the Historical Process*, 1940 (2nd ed., 1946 ; German edition, revised, *Von der Steinzeit zum Christentum*, 1949).

[2] Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel : its Life and Culture, III–IV*, 1940, p. 299 : 'The Israelite sacrifice does not differ much from that in common use among other Canaanite peoples, but to a certain extent it has aquired a special Israelitish character' ; p. 317 : 'They'—i.e. the Israelites—'could independently appropriate the entire sacrificial cult, but also create new forms and new viewpoints from it'.

sank to the level of contemporary thought and practice that had no relation to the God of Israel. They stand condemned within the pages of the old Testament. There were practices which could not be integrated into the worship of Yahweh or made to serve its ends. For the religion of Yahwism was not a Nature religion, as the religion of Canaan was. Moreover, even the practices which were taken over could be interpreted in a Canaanite way, and no longer serve the ends of Israel's true religion. We can no longer, therefore, think of Israel's religion and Canaanite religion as set over against one another in sharp and *complete* antithesis, and engaged in a life and death struggle with one another. There was much that bound the two religions together, and not a little of Canaanite origin has survived in Judaism, so that the struggle was rather between the religion of Israel, that could adapt and reinterpret some elements of Canaanite religion but that had no place for others and that had a distinctive character of its own, and the religion of Canaan that retained those other elements and differently understood them all.

It will be clear from this that I do not propose to speak on the origin of sacrifice among men, or on the first meaning which it may have had. For such a discussion our net would have to be cast much more widely than in the Old Testament.[1] Suffice it to say that those who have conducted such an inquiry are not agreed as to its results. Of the various theories of the primary meaning of sacrifice we may note three:[2] (1) that the sacrifice was a communion offering that sought to bind the worshipper and the god together by their sharing in the body of the sacrificed animal;[3] (2) that the sacrifice was a gift presented to the god

[1] Cf. E. O. James, 'Sacrifice (Introductory and Primitive)', in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by J. Hastings, xi, 1920, pp. 1 ff., and *Origins of Sacrifice: A Study in Comparative Religion*, 1933, 2nd ed., 1937. Cf. also A. Loisy, *Essai historique sur le sacrifice*, 1920, E. W. Hopkins, *Origins and Evolution of Religion*, 1923, pp. 151 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion, its Essence and Manifestation: a Study in Phenomenology*, E. Tr. by J. E. Turner, 1938, pp. 350 ff.; R. A. S. Macalister, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, xi, pp. 36 ff.

[2] Cf. Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.; Hopkins, *loc. cit.*; van der Leeuw, *loc. cit.*

[3] This was the theory of W. Robertson Smith. Cf. *op. cit.*, 3rd ed., p. 245: 'We can affirm that the idea of a sacrificial meal as an act of communion is older than sacrifice in the sense of tribute . . . the object of the sacrifice is to provide

to induce him to act on behalf of the offerer ;[1] (3) that the

the material for an act of sacrificial communion with the god '. This view was followed by F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religions*, 9th ed., 1927, pp. 144 ff. ; cf. p. 285 : ' The sacrificial and sacramental meal, which from the beginning has been the centre of all religion, has from the beginning also always been a moment in which the consciousness has been present to man of communion with the god of his prayers—without that consciousness man had no motive to continue the practice of the rite ' ; also by C. F. Burney, *Outlines of Old Testament Theology*, 3rd ed., 1930, pp. 55 f.

[1] This was the theory of E. B. Tylor. Cf. *Primitive Culture : Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 5th ed., reprinted 1929, ii, pp. 375 ff., esp. p. 376 : ' The gift-theory, as standing on its own independent basis, properly takes the first place. That most childlike kind of offering, the giving of a gift with as yet no definite thought how the receiver can take and use it, may be the most primitive as it is the most rudimentary sacrifice.' Cf. also S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, 1902, pp. 218 ff., esp. p. 221 : ' Sacrifice may be regarded as a gift on the part of the suppliant, which is designed favourably to dispose the being, who is God to him, in some undertaking on which he is about to enter ; or to remove his anger. It may be something like a bribe to blind the eyes of the deity, a *keffareh*, so that the divine being who is displeased may overlook the offence on account of which he is angry ', and p. 222 : ' The necessity for shedding blood does not exclude the character of sacrifice as a gift '. So, too, Baumgarten, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by F. M. Schiele and L. Zscharnack, iv, 1913, col. 956 : ' Ursprünglich ist das Opfer sogar nichts anderes als ein mit Gaben dargebrachtes Gebet, ein die Bitte nach antikem Urteil notwendigerweise begleitendes Geschenk, dargebracht in der Absicht, die Wirkung jener zu verstärken durch den Tatbeweis dafür, dass man sich den Erwerb des göttlichen Wohlgefallens etwas kosten lasse '. W. Eichrodt favours the view that the sacrifice is given to the deity in order to maintain his strength. Cf. *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, 3rd ed., 1948, p. 62 : ' Als die wichtigsten Grundgedanken des Opferkults nennt uns die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte die der Speisung, des Geschenks, der sakralen Kommunion und die Versöhnung. Die primitivste Anschauung ist wohl die, dass durch das Opfer der Gottheit Nahrung zur Stärkung ihrer Kraft zugeführt werde.' This was the theory advanced earlier by E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, ii, 1908, p. 611 : ' The idea that supernatural beings have human appetites and human wants leads to the practice of sacrifice. . . . If such offerings fail them they may even suffer want and become feeble and powerless.' A. B. Davidson (*The Theology of the Old Testament*, 1904, p. 315) regarded the gift idea as the prevailing idea in Old Testament sacrifices, and H. Wheeler Robinson (*Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 129) says : ' I should regard the gift theory as giving the widest explanation, and the manipulation of the blood as being one of the chief points of departure '. On this general view of sacrifice, cf. G. van der Leeuw, ' Die *do-ut-des*-Formel in der Opfertheorie ', in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xx, 1920-1921, pp. 241 ff.

sacrifice released vital power by the death of the animal.[1] It is probable that no simple theory can express even the first meaning of sacrifice,[2] and that it was already of complex significance so far back as it goes. Within the thought of the Old Testament, no one of these views can give us the clue to the interpretation of all sacrifice.[3] Some sacrifices were clearly propitiatory; yet

[1] So E. O. James, *op. cit.*, p. 256: 'The fundamental principle throughout is the same; the giving of life to promote or preserve life, death being merely a means of liberating vitality'. Cf. also R. Dussaud, who, in speaking of Israelite sacrifice, says (*Les Origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*, 1921, p. 27): 'Le sacrifice met en mouvement des énergies plus puissantes, surtout le sacrifice par excellence, c'est-à-dire le sacrifice sanglant: avec sang, l'immolation met en liberté l'âme de la victime que le rite de la *semikha*, ou imposition de la main, a préalablement identifiée au sacrifiant'; also A. Bertholet (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., edited by H. Gunkel and L. Zscharnack, iv, 1930, col. 704) who, while regarding sacrifice as also communion and gift, says: 'im Opfer ruht eine Kraft, und durch das Opfer wird eine Kraftwirkung ausgeübt'. Of the importance of this element in Old Testament sacrifices there can be little doubt. G. F. Moore (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, col. 4217) says: 'From first to last the utmost importance attaches to the disposition of the victim's blood.' H. H. Gowen (*A History of Religion*, 1934, p. 64) defines sacrifice as 'man's effort to sustain the course of Nature by providing the requisite replenishment of power. It has therefore affinity with Imitative Magic.' It will be seen below that while I would agree that sacrifice has its roots in magical practice, I do not think the Old Testament presents a magical view of sacrifice.

[2] Cf. Loisy, *op. cit.*, p. 11: 'Le sacrifice ne procède pas que d'une seule idée ni d'une seule pratique; il n'apparaît qu'à un certain degré de l'évolution religieuse, et comme une sorte de synthèse où sont entrés des éléments divers. Par son fond, il tient des opérations magiques . . . et d'autre part, il tient aussi du don alimentaire.' Most writers recognize complexity in the idea of sacrifice from its earliest traceable origins. So Hopkins, *loc. cit.*; Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 ff.; van der Leeuw, *Religion, its Essence and Manifestation*, pp. 350 ff. M. J. Lagrange, whose study is limited to Semitic religions, also finds more than one element, and in particular combines the elements of gift and communion. Cf. *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1903, pp. 244 ff.

[3] Cf. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Gray stresses the gift element as against Robertson Smith's stress on the communion element, but expressly guards himself against being supposed to see only this element. J. Pedersen (*Israel III-IV*, pp. 299 ff.) also well emphasizes the variety of purposes sacrifice was designed to serve and the impossibility of interpreting Israelite sacrifice in terms of one idea. Cf., too, F. F. Hvidberg, *Den israelitiske Religions Historie*, 1943, pp. 91 f. O. Eissfeldt (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., iv, 1930, col. 712) observes that after the entry into Canaan the conception of sacrifice as communion tended to give place to the conception of it as gift. For a study of the variety of motives that lay behind Israelite sacrifice, c.f. A. Wendel, *Das Opfer in der israelitischen Religion*, 1927, pp. 32 ff.

equally clearly all were not. The thankoffering, for instance, was clearly not propitiatory. Some sacrifices were thought of as having an effect upon the offerer and not merely on his behalf, or even upon others for whom the offerer made them. Job's sacrifice at the end of the round of his sons' banquets was partly to avert the anger of God at any thoughtless word or act on the part of his sons, and partly to cleanse his sons.[1] In a particular sacrifice one element might be to the fore, but it is probable that other elements were also often present.

I have already indicated that Israel's sacrifices had a large element in common with the pre-Israelite sacrifices of Canaan. The view has been propounded, indeed, that Israel's sacrificial ritual was essentially of Canaanite origin.[2] This would well accord with the common view of the meaning of Amos v, 25 and Jer. vii, 22. In the former passage Amos asks: 'Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?'; while in the latter Jeremiah says: 'For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices'. It is hard to subscribe to this common, literalistic view of these passages, however.[3] For in

[1] Job i, 5.

[2] Cf. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, 1921, and 2nd ed., 1941, with an appendix in which additional support for his view is drawn from the Ras Shamra texts, which were undiscovered when the first edition was issued. Cf. also Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 317: 'Our knowledge of the Phoenician-Canaanite cult is now quite sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the greater part of the Israelitish sacrificial practices had been learnt from the Canaanites'. Similarly, J. P. Hyatt, *Prophetic Religion*, 1947, p. 128: 'Modern discoveries and research have confirmed the belief that the Hebrew sacrificial system was largely of Canaanite origin. This has long been suspected on the basis of fragmentary evidence, and has been further proved by the discovery of cuneiform texts . . . at modern Ras Shamra.'

[3] I have discussed these and related texts in BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxix, 1946, pp. 340 ff. My argument was criticized by C. J. Cadoux, in *Expository Times*, lviii, 1946-1947, pp. 43 ff., to which I replied, *ibid.*, pp. 69 ff. Cf. also N. H. Snaith, *ibid.*, pp. 152 f., and my reply, *ibid.*, pp. 305 ff. So far as Amos v, 25 is concerned, D. B. Macdonald noted the significance of the unusual order of the Hebrew words, and the unusual word used for *bring*, more than half a century ago, and rendered: 'Was it only flesh-sacrifices and meal-offerings that ye brought me in the wilderness?' where the expected answer is 'We brought more than this; we brought true worship of heart and righteousness'.

passages which stand in documents almost certainly older than the time of Amos, there are references to sacrifice in the Mosaic period and the sacrifice of the Passover is integral to the story of the Exodus, which lay at the heart of the national consciousness. It is hard to believe that Amos or Jeremiah denied that this sacrifice was offered, or ordained by God.[1] The prophetic attitude to sacrifice cannot be determined by taking odd texts out of their context in this way and interpreting them in a rigid and literalistic way. They must be studied in relation to their context and in relation to the totality of each prophet's teaching. It is also important to ask how their contemporaries understood them. Here we must remember that almost all modern scholarship is agreed that the book of Deuteronomy

Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xviii, 1899, pp. 214 f. E. Würthwein (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, lxxii, 1947, col. 150) with less probability suggests that ' the offerings which ye brought to me in the wilderness ' was a gloss. So far as Jer. vii, 22 is concerned, I find the passage to indicate the relative importance of sacrifice and obedience, in accordance with the well-known Biblical idiom, whereby ' not this but that ' means ' that is more important than this '. See BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, *loc. cit.*, p. 340, where several illustrations are given. Moreover, in Jer. vi, 19 f. Jeremiah again condemns sacrifices, but couples with his condemnation a complaint that the people had not hearkened unto the voice of God. If he really meant that the condemnation would have stood unchanged even if they had hearkened to the voice of God, he might have been expected to avoid mentioning irrelevances. Further, though in Jer. vii, 1-15 he announces the coming destruction of the Temple, he makes it quite clear that if the people would amend their ways this might be averted. Clearly, therefore, he does not regard the Temple ritual as something that is unacceptable to God in itself, but only as something that is unacceptable when it is observed by people whose spirit is an offence to Him.

[1] The oldest sources of the Pentateuch, that were almost certainly in existence in Jeremiah's time, ascribe sacrifice to Moses and say that he ordained it. Similarly traditions which must antedate the time of Jeremiah say that Samuel sacrificed. There is no evidence that Jeremiah denied the accuracy of these traditions, but there is evidence that he held Moses and Samuel in high esteem. Cf. Jer. xv, 1. Similarly the sacrifice of the Passover is inextricably woven into the tradition of the Exodus, which Jeremiah regarded as achieved by the power of God. There is no evidence that he denied that the Passover was sacrificed at that time, or denied that this was done in accordance with the divine will, and it is hard to see how Jer. vii, 22 can be understood as a challenge to all the traditions of the past, when it can be understood less drastically, and when there is independent evidence that Jeremiah valued other elements of the traditions that are inseparable from the ones he is supposed to be challenging.

is the deposit of the teaching of the eighth century prophets ;[1] yet it found nothing fundamentally repugnant to true religion in sacrifice in itself. I am therefore unwilling to set the religion of Israel, as represented by Moses and the prophets, over against sacrificial religion, and to suppose that sacrifice was wholly a Canaanite borrowing into her practice after the Settlement in the land.[2]

It is, nevertheless, probable that not a little in Israel's ritual was of Canaanite origin.[3] This has been more generally recognized since the Ras Shamra texts became available for study, though it was already recognized before their discovery that Canaanite religion had exercised a powerful influence on Israel's religion. It is sometimes pointed out that technical names for

[1] While there are some who dispute this, they cannot be identified with those who regard the eighth century prophets as inflexibly opposed to all sacrifices. Indeed the latter theory developed amongst scholars who regarded the teaching of those prophets as the background of Deuteronomy.

[2] A. Lods says : ' The Israelite system of sacrifice, in its essentials, does not seem to have been either a Jahwistic innovation . . . nor a borrowing from the Canaanites, as Dussaud has recently maintained, nor a creation of the Jewish priests at the time of the exile. In the main it comes from the old pre-Mosaic Semitic stock of religious practices '. See *Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century*, E. Tr. by S. H. Hooke, 1932, p. 281 (original French edition, *Israël des Origines au milieu du viii^e siècle*, 1930, p. 324 ; cf. also *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, viii, 1928, p. 410). I am inclined to go farther than Lods, though not so far as Dussaud, and to hold that while Israelite sacrifice came from a background of ancient Semitic sacrifice, the institution would naturally be differently developed in different branches of the Semitic peoples, and that while Israel doubtless brought some sacrificial ritual with her when she entered Canaan, she borrowed much from the Canaanites for its development in the post-Settlement period. Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 317 : ' It is difficult to draw the line between what is Canaanite and what is strictly Israelite. The Israelites did not adopt the Canaanite custom as a dead system.' H. Wheeler Robinson (*Redemption and Revelation in the Actuality of History*, 1942, p. 249) conjectures that the peace-offering is older in Israel than the Settlement in Canaan, while the burnt-offering was derived from the Canaanites. A. Lods (*Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses, loc. cit.*, pp. 405 ff.) thinks that all the three main types of sacrifice, communion offering, whole offering and piacular offering rest on older pre-Settlement forms of sacrifice.

[3] Cf. R. Dussaud, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, cv, 1932, pp. 285 ff., and *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament*, 1937, pp. 109 ff., 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 178 ff. ; S. H. Hooke, *The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual* (Schweich Lectures), 1938, pp. 63 ff. ; R. de Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs apports à l'histoire des origines israélites*, 1939, p. 42.

sacrifices that stand in the Old Testament are found in the Ras Shamra texts,[1] and the antiquity of these sacrifices can no longer be questioned.[2] This does not carry with it, of course, as is sometimes concluded, the antiquity of the Biblical sources that refer to them. On the other hand it does carry with it—though this is less often noted—the evidence that these forms of sacrifice did not originate in a divine revelation to Moses on the mount. Their antiquity goes back behind Moses.

On the other hand, it is impossible that all of Israel's ritual was derived from Canaanite sources.[3] In particular, it is unlikely that the Passover, which was offered before the entry into Canaan, was derived from Canaanite sources.[4] The origin of this rite is highly obscure, though it is probable that it long

[1] Cf. J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Texts : their Bearing on the Old Testament*, 1935, pp. 27 ff. See, however, the note of caution in W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1942, 2nd ed., 1946, p. 61.

[2] It should not be forgotten that the antiquity of much of the usage that is codified in the Priestly Code has long been recognized. Cf. A. Lods, *loc. cit.*, p. 401 : ' les représentants les plus autorisés de l'école de Graf-Wellhausen, à commencer par Wellhausen lui-même, ont souligné expressément que ces institutions sont, pour une large part, très anciennes ' ; also H. Schulz, *American Journal of Theology*, iv, 1900, p. 282 : ' The sacrificial laws in the priestly Torah undoubtedly contain very early material. The sacrificial regulations for the priests of the old Jerusalem may lie at the bottom everywhere. Without the assumption of such a given basis the presence of the conception of guilt-offering (*'āshām*) alongside of that of sin-offering (*ḥaṭṭā'th*) . . . is wholly inexplicable.'

[3] Cf. R. de Langhe, *op. cit.*, p. 42, and also above, p. 81, n. 2.

[4] Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 317 : ' The paschal sacrifice is probably pre-Canaanite ' ; p. 382 : ' It is clear that the Passover was such a popular festival before the immigration ' ; pp. 400 f. : ' The events of the spring festival warrant the presumption that it is a combination of two originally independent festivals, a pre-Canaanite pastoral feast which sanctified the firstborn, and a Canaanite peasant feast which sanctified the barley crops.' The originally separate character of these two feasts has, of course, long been recognized. Cf. E. Dhorme, *L'Évolution religieuse d'Israël : i. La religion des Hébreux nomades*, 1937, p. 210. It may be noted that Dussaud agrees with this view. He says : ' On admet généralement que la pâque est constituée par la combinaison de deux fêtes, primitivement distinctes : l'Offrande des premiers-nés des troupeaux, pratiquée jadis par les Israélites nomades, et la fête des pains azymes, fête agricole cananéenne ouvrant la période de la moisson que clôturait la pentecôte.' For a study of this spring festival and its ritual, cf. G. B. Gray, ' Passover and Unleavened Bread : the Laws of J, E, and D ', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxvii, 1936, pp. 241 ff. See also N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival : its Origins and Development*. 1947, pp. 13 ff.

antedated the time of Moses.[1] What is more important than its origin is the meaning Israel attached to it, and from the time of the Exodus she seems to have made it the vehicle of her remembrance of that deliverance, so that whatever significance it may have had before is no longer relevant for her. Here is a notable example of the process to which I have referred, whereby practices that were once of a different significance were integrated into Israel's religion and made the vehicle of Yahwism. It is the significance attached to all the sacrificial and other rites that is more deeply important than antiquarian research into their origin. All the light that can be shed on their origin is to be welcomed, provided we do not delude ourselves into thinking that when we have found the origin we have explained and understood all.

Whatever the source of Israel's sacrificial ritual, whether she derived it from her own distant past or from Canaanite or other sources, or whether it came into being in the course of her own history, no simple idea will suffice to explain the meaning of it all. Some sacrifices were thought of as gifts; others as means of effecting communion with God; others as having propitiatory significance. Some were wholly consumed on the altar; some were partly consumed on the altar and partly given to the priests; in some the worshipper himself had a share.

Not all sacrifices were animal sacrifices. There were the firstfruits,[2] which were held to be sacred to God and His by right. These were not thought of as man's gift to God, but as His own property, so that it would be an act of sacrilege for a man to use them for himself.[3] God was recognized to be the source of all fruitfulness, and therefore entitled to a share of what his bounty provided. The same was true of the firstborn of animals. These too, belonged to God,[4] and their purpose was not primarily to propitiate God, to effect communion with Him, or to bring him a gift. They were the recognition of what was His own.

[1] Cf. T. H. Gaster, *Passover : its History and Traditions*, 1949.

[2] On these cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Erstlinge und Zehnten im Alten Testament*, 1917.

[3] Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 304: 'He acquires the full right to use the crops when he has given Yahweh his share'.

[4] Cf. Ex. xiii, 2.

Of non-animal sacrifices in addition to firstfruits[1] we may recall the meal offerings and the freewill offerings of substance. It will be remembered that in the time of Joash there was a dispute between the king and Jehoiada the High Priest as to the source of the funds for the repair of the Temple, and the dispute was finally settled by devoting to this purpose freewill offerings of substance which might be placed by the people in a chest in the Temple, which could only be opened jointly by the priest and the king's officers.[2] At the time of Josiah this arrangement was still in force, and it was after the opening of the chest that Hilkiah announced the finding of the book of the Law.[3] Probably the *minḥah* was a gift,[4] though what it signified is less clear. It seems clear that originally it denoted an animal sacrifice, since the term is used of Abel's sacrifice,[5] but it became in later times a meal offering. Whether it was a gift expressing devotion to God, or seeking to induce Him to grant a boon, is hard to determine.[6]

There were thankofferings, which were also gifts, though with a more defined purpose. These were not seeking boons, but the recognition that boons had been received and that God was their author. Similarly with vows,[7] though these might have been contracted as a means of securing blessing. Once contracted, the vow imposed its obligation on a man, so that its purely voluntary undertaking had become a moral obligation which it was sinful to repudiate.[8]

Other sacrifices included the peace offerings, and sacrifices which were connected more definitely with sin. The peace-

[1] The tithes belong to the same category as the firstfruits, though they are, of course, distinct, and more defined in amount. Cf. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.; also Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* On incense and the place it acquired in the ritual, cf. M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament : eine archäologische Untersuchung*, 1927. [2] 2 Kings xii, 4 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, xxii, 3 ff.

[4] Cf. G. B. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, pp. 14 ff.

[5] Gen. iv, 4.

[6] For a study of the ritual associated with the *'ôlāh*, or burnt offering, and the *zebaḥ*, with which the peace offering is equated, c.f. W. B. Stevenson, 'Hebrew 'Olah and Zebach Sacrifices', in *Festschrift für Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, pp. 488 ff. [7] Cf. J. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, pp. 324 ff.

[8] On the legal limitation of the validity of certain vows, cf. Pedersen, *ibid.*, pp. 328 f.

offerings may have been designed for the maintenance or restoration of proper relations with God. The offerer shared part of them in the sacred feast, in pre-exilic times,[1] while in the post exilic times the name peace offering was made to include the thank offerings, the vows and the free-will offerings.[2] Of the sacrifices more closely connected with sin there were the sin offering and the guilt offering in post-exilic times,[3] though these do not figure in the pre-exilic sources of the Old Testament that have come down to us.[4] This does not mean that they were post-exilic inventions, however, and the fact that in Lev. v, 1-9 they appear to be identified, and that they cannot now be distinguished with precision, is against such a supposition.[5] For it is probable that they were once distinct. Both appear to have been offered for more specific offences than the peace offering—if the peace offerings involved any idea of offence.

In addition to these individual sacrifices there were the daily

[1] Cf. Pedersen, *ibid.*, p. 335, where they are called 'covenant offerings'. Their name, *sh^{e}lāmîm*, is connected with the word *shālôm* = *peace*, but their precise purpose is difficult to define. Cf. L. Koehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1936, p. 177: 'Was שְׁלָמִים bedeutet, wissen wir nicht'. A Haldar (*Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, 1945, p. 122) thinks they were divinatory.

[2] W. P. Paterson (in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iv, 1902, p. 338b) says that the sacrificer of the peace offering 'always stood upon the ground of salvation', in contrast to the offerer of the sin offering, who had fallen from a state of grace. But while this appears to be true of the post-exilic period, it is less certain for the earlier period.

[3] C. F. Burney (*Outlines of Old Testament Theology*, 3rd ed., 1930, p. 62) says: 'It is not unreasonable to regard the sin- and guilt-offerings as later specialized forms of the older burnt-offering'. Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 1946, p. 226: 'The well-known pre-exilic sacrifices of the so-called "peace-offering" . . . and of the whole burnt-offering . . . were extended in the post-exilic period by the development of the sin-offering and the guilt-offering which marked a deepened sense of alienation or remoteness from God'.

[4] The word *'āshām*, which is the technical term for a guilt offering, is found in pre-exilic writings, but never with this meaning. In 1 Sam. vi, 3, 4, 8, 17 it stands for the golden symbols which the Philistines returned with the Ark, and in 2 Kings xii, 17 for money given to the priests. In Gen. xxvi, 10, which is commonly assigned to J, it means *guiltiness*, and so in Jer. li, 5, and in Ps. lxviii, 21 (Heb. 22), which may be pre-exilic.

[5] Cf. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, pp. 57 ff.; Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*, pp. 75 ff., 80 f.; Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 372.

offerings of the community for the maintenance of right relations between the community and God ;[1] and there was the solemn offering of the Day of Atonement,[2] when sacrifice was made for the sin of the community, and the scapegoat that bore the sin of the community was not sacrificed on the altar, but driven into the wilderness.[3] There can be no doubt that the roots of this ritual lay far back in the past, and primitive practices have doubtless survived in it.

Our information about these sacrifices is not all of the same age, and it is certain that there was development of usage in connexion with some part of them during the period covered by the Old Testament. We must beware of supposing, however, that a sacrifice which is only attested in a late document first came into existence at the time of that document's composition. To trace the history of these sacrifices lies outside my purpose, and even to trace the history of their significance is not my intention. I have little doubt that sacrifice did not mean the same to the patriarchs, to priests or people during the monarchy, to prophets, and to the founders of Judaism. Yet there were some elements of its significance which were constant within the stream of the true tradition of Israel. That there were many in all ages who were spiritually insensitive is freely declared in the Old Testament, and I am not concerned with them. So far as the Pentateuch is concerned, I recognize that there are various strata within it ; yet all were gathered by the final redactors within its compass, to be understood in terms of that dynamic element which reached its full development in the Judaism which made the Pentateuch the expression of its spirit. My concern is primarily with the conception of sacrifice cherished by the final framers of the Law, and to a lesser extent with the compilers of the older documents which are embedded in the Law, and with the great prophetic figures of the pre-exilic period.

[1] On the history of these cf. Pedersen, *ibid.*, pp. 349 ff. G. F. Moore, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv, col. 4209, surmises that the custom of offering a daily burnt offering and oblation probably originated in the royal temples of Judah and Israel.

[2] Cf. Lev. xvi.

[3] On the ritual of this day and its significance, cf. Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 306 ff. ; Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 ff.

It is important to recognize that not all sacrifice was related to the expiation of sin. Moreover, no sacrifice is represented as achieving anything by the mere act of offering it. In popular thought, so often challenged by the prophets, sacrifices were believed to have automatic power, as they were widely thought to have amongst non-Israelite people. But that is not the real teaching of the Old Testament, where it is clearly taught that sacrifices must be the organ of the spirit of the offerer, if they were to be effective. Where the sacrifice was offered for sin, the Law no less than the prophets asked for something more than the outward act. The Law required the confession of sin and humble penitence of spirit, without which the sacrifice could achieve nothing. It also required restitution, where the sin was against another and where restitution could be made. It is in Leviticus that we read :[1] ' It shall be, when he shall be guilty in one of these things, that he shall confess that wherein he hath sinned ; and he shall bring his forfeit unto the Lord for his sin which he hath sinned . . . and the priest shall make atonement for him as concerning his sin.' It is in Numbers that we read[2] : ' When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit . . . then shall they confess their sin which they have done ; and he shall make restitution for his guilt in full, and add unto it the fifth part thereof, and give it unto him in respect of whom he hath been guilty '. Moreover, there is a passage at which we shall look later, which makes it clear that it is the intention, rather than the act, which validates sacrifice, since there are cases where no sacrifice can avail since the spirit is wrong.

With all this it must be remembered that sacrifice was thought of as potent.[3] It was not merely an expression of the spirit of the offerer, and certainly not an empty form that neither added nor subtracted anything. It required the spirit to validate it, but once validated it was thought to be charged with power. It was

[1] Lev. v, 5 f. [2] Num. v, 6 f.

[3] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson (*Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 131): ' That the personal act of sacrifice was generally regarded as doing something, i.e. as efficacious, hardly needs demonstration. This is implied, on the one hand, in the detailed attention given to sacrifice in the Old Testament. This would be meaningless unless sacrifice were meaningful, to a degree far beyond a figurative and merely declaratory symbolism.'

never merely a plea, whether for aid or for forgiveness or for communion. It was potent to effect something, either within or on behalf of the offerer or of another. The sacrificed animal was not merely a substitute for the offerer. He laid his hands upon it,[1] and was conceived of as in some way identified with it,[2] so that in its death he was conceived of as dying—not physically, but spiritually. The death of the victim symbolized his death to his sin, or to whatever stood between him and God, or his surrender of himself to God in thankfulness and humility. And then it was thought of as the medium of his cleansing, or his fellowship with God, or as the assurance of blessing. Hence sacrifice both expressed the spirit of the worshipper and did something for him. Sometimes, as in the thankoffering, the first of these was to the fore and the second was little in evidence.[3] But wherever the second was thought to be present, it could not operate without the first.

It is important to remember this in connexion with the common view that the pre-exilic canonical prophets were against the institution of sacrifice as such, and that they declared it was wholly unacceptable to God. It is improbable that their words should be so interpreted, and far more probable that they opposed the sacrifices of their day because they were hollow and unrelated to the spirit of the offerer.[4] To discuss this question here would

[1] Lev. i, 4; iii, 2, 8, 13, etc.

[2] Cf. the remark above quoted (p. 78, n. 1) from Dussaud: 'que le rite de la *semikha*, ou imposition de la main, a préalablement identifiée au sacrifiant'. Also H. Wheeler Robinson (*Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 130): 'The natural meaning of the laying of hands on the sacrifice is the closer identification of the offerer with his offering'.

[3] Cf. Pedersen, *Israel III-IV*, p. 300: 'In every offering there is something of all the effects produced by the offering; but one or other element may become more or less prominent'.

[4] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Redemption and Revelation*, p. 250: 'The prophets' criticism of contemporary sacrifices was not necessarily intended to do away with them altogether, but was more probably intended to check the abuse of them, by which they became the substitutes, instead of the accompaniments, expressions and encouragements, of true piety and right conduct'; *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 1946, p. 226: 'It is difficult to conceive how these prophets would have devised a worship wholly without sacrifices. They were attacking a false and non-moral reliance upon them, rather than the expression of true worship through a eucharistic gift.'

involve too long a digression, and is the less necessary since I essayed this a few years ago in a lecture in the same series as the present one.[1] The over-sharpening of antitheses, that was in vogue some years ago,[2] is less common to-day, and there is a greater readiness to recognize an affinity between priest and prophet,[3] or between the Law and the Prophets, without ignoring the differences of emphasis and function that marked their work or their message.[4] This means that the creators of the

[1] 'The Unity of the Old Testament', in BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxix, 1945-1946, pp. 326-358.

[2] For survivals of the older view, cf. T. H. Robinson (in Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion : its Origin and Development*, 1930, p. 202 ; 2nd ed., 1937, p. 232) : 'The God of Israel, alone among the deities worshipped by men, made no ritual demands ; to Him sacrifice was always a weariness, and, when substituted for morality, an abomination' ; P. Volz (*Prophetengestalten des Alten Testaments*, 1938, p. 19) : 'Die alttestamentliche Religion, die Propheten-Religion, ist *Wort-Religion*, und dadurch steht die alttestamentliche Propheten-Religion im schärfsten *Gegensatz zur Priester-Religion*, zur *Kult-Religion*. Priester-Religion ist Opfer-Religion ; . . . Propheten-Religion ist Wort-Religion' ; J. P. Hyatt (*Prophetic Religion*, 1947, p. 127) : 'The opposition of the prophets to the whole sacrificial and ritualistic system and practices of their day seems to have been absolute, and they thought it should be abolished as an offence against the God of Israel.' Cf. L. Koehler, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, pp. 170 ff.

[3] Cf. N. W. Porteous, *Interpretation*, iii, 1949, p. 414 : 'We must not allow the denunciation of Israel's prophets, justifiable as they undoubtedly were, to blind us to the service which Israel's cult must have rendered in maintaining through the centuries the faith and obedience of many a pious Israelite'.

[4] Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *Sacrifices in Ancient Israel*, p. 208 : 'Their'—i.e. the prophets'—'purpose was to purify, not to abolish, the offering of sacrifices' ; p. 213 : 'If the prophets thought the ideas of sacrifice were wrong, they would assuredly have given some indications of this. But there is no hint to this effect ; a fact which supports the contention that it was not sacrificial worship in itself that they condemned, but only its misuse in wrong directions' ; J. M. Powis Smith, *The Prophets and their Times*, 2nd ed., revised by W. A. Irwin, 1941, p. 62 : 'It may hardly be supposed that Amos would have done away with sacrifice and ritual entirely if he could. . . . It was not ritual as such to which he objected, but rather the practice of ritual by people who believed that thereby they set in motion magical forces and insured for themselves well-being and happiness' (cf. 1st ed., 1925, p. 50) ; H. Wheeler Robinson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 137 : 'The prophets were virtually compelled to over-emphasize, or to emphasize too exclusively, one side of the ritual-righteousness antithesis, in order to make their meaning clear—to say, in effect, righteousness only, in order to say, not ritual only' ; J. E. Coleran, *Theological Studies*, v, 1944, pp. 437 f. : 'The prophetic condemnations of sacrifice, then, drive home a

Law and the great prophets were emphasizing opposite sides of the same teaching. On the one side we have the detailed requirements of the ritual, with the recognition that the spirit must be brought to their observance.[1] On the other, we have the insistence on the spirit, without which the offerings are meaningless. On both sides it is perceived that the sacrifice must be in a genuine way the expression of the spirit of the offerer

two-fold concept basic to true religion. . . . If men will confess their dependence by external cult-acts, these acts must express their sincere disposition of soul. If the external cult does not express this, it is both hypocrisy, deceiving self, and irreligion, striving to deceive God'; P. S. Minear, *Eyes of Faith*, 1946, p. 22: 'The prophets often protest against the emphasis on animal sacrifices and ceremonial ablutions, but rarely is such protest directed against all sacrifice as such. . . . The prophets are fighting against a false separation of sacred from secular'; J. Paterson, *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets*, 1948, p. 27: 'Many scholars assume that these prophets are advocating a system of religion without ritual or sacrifice. This seems quite impossible. The great prophets are united in their denial of the efficacy of mere ritual and in their demand for moral and spiritual relations between the people and God. . . . But neither Amos nor Isaiah nor Jeremiah would deny a place to sacrifice'; W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, i, 3rd ed., 1948, p. 182: 'Denn auch die Stellung zum Kultus ist nicht aus dem einfachen aut-aut von Moral oder Opfer zu begreifen, das die Propheten als Vertreter der "sittlichen Religion" charakterisieren soll. Damit spannt man diese Männer wieder in zu engen Rahmen ein und übertreibt die Wichtigkeit des Kultus in ihren Reden. Die zugespitzte Gegenüberstellung von kultischem Betrieb and Rechthandeln an den bekannten Stellen gibt noch kein Recht, eine kultusfrei moralische Religion als prophetisches Ideal zu konstruieren'; P. van Imschoot, in *Bijbelsch Woordenboek*, 1941, col. 1148: 'De leer der profeten wordt door vele niet-kath. critici uitgelegd alsof de profeten alle o.s en allen uiterlijken cultus hadden veroordeeld als Jahweh onwaardig, den zedelijken en transcendenten God, die neits anders van zijn vereerders eischte dan de volledige onderwerping aan zijn wil en het onderhouden van zijn zedelijke geboden. . . . Deze interpretatie houdt niet voldoende rekening met den werkelijken toestand van den cultus, noch met de mentaliteit der tijdgenooten van de profeten, noch met den aard van hun taal, die het ideaal scherp tegenover de misbruiken van den cultus van hun tijd stelde en de schakeeringen verwaarloosde.'

[1] Cf. what I have written elsewhere (*apud* H. Wheeler Robinson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 136): 'The final form of the sacrificial law of the Old Testament comes to us from men who valued the prophetic teaching, and the age of Judaism treasured alike the Law and the Prophets. It sought by the Law to guard the prophetic principles, and it conceived of the ritual as the organ of obedience, not the substitute for it. But it is clear that it conceived of the ritual as potent, and not alone as acceptable, and the power with which it was charged was divine power.'

if it was to be effective.[1] No plea for forgiveness could be sincere, if there was no renunciation of the sin in the heart; no cry for cleansing could have any meaning, if there was still the purpose to renew the act that brought the stain; no prayer for communion could be genuinely expressed by a sacrifice, if there was no desire to walk in harmony with God's will. The offerings must bear the spirit of the worshipper to God, before they could mediate to him forgiveness, cleansing, and communion. In Proverbs we read: 'The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord'.[2] It can bring him no blessing, but only increase his alienation from God. This is essentially the message of Amos and of other prophets. 'I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings, and meal offerings I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fed beasts . . . But let judgement roll down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.'[3] It is for lack of the qualities of the spirit that the sacrifices stand condemned, and not because they are wrong in themselves, even though the spirit should be right. The great eighth century prophets looked out on a society in which they saw the will of God being flouted on every side, and the fundamental qualities of God's character were conspicuously lacking in the people who brought him their splendid sacrifices. None had the slightest desire to change his way, or to approach God in genuine confession of sin and humble desire to be cleansed and renewed in spirit. They came in the hard and proud and impenitent spirit which the Law declared to invalidate sacrifice. But this

[1] In BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxix, 1945-1946, pp. 351 ff., I noted the evidence of the Psalter for the understanding of the Law. N. W. Porteous (*Interpretation*, iii, 1949, pp. 404 f.) draws attention to the same thing. He says: 'It must never be forgotten that the clue to the meaning of what Israel did in her religious practice is to be found reflected in the Psalter. It is quite unlikely that these ancient Hebrew hymns which have inspired so much that is best in Christian worship should have originally, many of them, been composed to accompany a ritual which did not represent a genuine synthesis of the religious and the ethical. To suppose anything else is to suppose that the Psalms were fundamentally irrelevant in the ritual setting to which they originally belonged. In other words, the evidence of the Psalter must be allowed to qualify the evidence of the prophets.'

[2] Prov. xxi, 27; xv, 8.

[3] Amos v, 21-24.

cannot imply that had the prophets seen men coming to the altar with the genuine desire to submit themselves in spirit to God, they would have loosed against them the same denunciation.[1] The gravamen of their charge was not that men sacrificed, but that they offended God by lives that knew none of His spirit, and that they were inflexibly determined to continue in their way.[2] Such stand under the condemnation of the Law, as well

[1] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, p. 237 : 'Our parallelism suggests that for the prophets everything depended on the spirit in which an act was performed. Their own symbolic acts were, genetically, the continuance in form of widespread symbolic magic which they themselves certainly condemned. Yet the psychology of symbolic magic was taken up into their faith in Yahweh and sublimated by the performance of similar acts, not to constrain Him, but as constrained by Him. Similarly, we may say that they condemned the *opus operatum* of sacrifice, so long as it was not lifted up into the spirit of true devotion to Yahweh, and true obedience to His moral requirements. Then the character of sacrifice would be changed, and it might become as acceptable to God as were their own symbolic acts.'

[2] E. C. B. Maclaurin has recently published a very superficial study on *The Origin of the Hebrew Sacrificial System*, 1948, designed to prove that sacrifice was not original to Israelite sacrifice and that it was totally rejected by the pre-exilic prophets. The whole is marked by astonishing special pleading that savours of propaganda rather than scholarship. The author frequently refers to passages useful for his purpose. Others are sometimes ignored, and sometimes explained away. Samuel and Elijah do not figure among the pre-exilic prophets because they would not be convenient for his purpose, but quite the reverse. He notes that there is no law of the priesthood in E, and asks 'Could a cult exist in which blood-sacrifice was part of a definite ritual and which nevertheless did not possess any form of priesthood? It seems highly unlikely that this would be so' (p. 11). Clearly the compilers of the J and E documents saw no difficulty here, since they treated the patriarchs as their own priests. Similarly Micah appointed his own son to be his priest (Jg. xvii, 5) until a wandering Levite was made his professional priest (Jg. xvii, 12). There is no suggestion that Elijah was a professional priest. Yet he could rebuild an altar and offer sacrifice (1 Kings xviii 32 f.). Maclaurin asserts that the Passover sacrifice was originally a substitution for a human being, and then finds significance in the fact that E does not record the Passover sacrifice, while J does, and concludes that this proves the secondary character of the blood sacrifice (p. 28). It is hard to follow the reasoning here, and it would be interesting to know (*a*) whether the sacrifice of human beings is held to have begun after the establishment of the priesthood, or to have been possible without professional priests, and (*b*) whether Maclaurin supposes that there was a hiatus between the human sacrifice and the sacrifice of Passover lambs, during which only the feast of Unleavened Bread was observed. He allows that at the Exodus the Passover was instituted, but blandly suggests that it is unlikely that it was a blood-sacrifice (pp. 7 f.), disregarding the earlier source J, and drawing cheerful conclusions from silence in E. The inconvenient

as of the prophets. But where the sacrifice was the organ of the spirit, it was believed to be potent to mediate blessing and renewal to men.

So, too, where the sacrifices made on behalf of the community

passage in Isa. i, 11 ff. is treated most unnaturally. Here every form of religious observance, including prayer, is condemned, since men's hands were full of blood. To suppose that the prophet imagined that prayer was in itself and of necessity an offence to God is out of the question for any who treat the prophets as the exponents of spiritual religion. But instead of accepting the plain meaning of the passage that it was because the life was evil in God's eyes that every form of religious observance was meaningless—a meaning which is obvious from the demand of vv. 16 f.—Maclaurin resorts to the forced exegesis that identifies the blood which was an offence to God and which invalidated prayer with the blood of the sacrificed animals (p. 13). Surely Isaiah had graver evils to protest against than the slaughter of animals; and if his meaning was that the fact that men did not seek judgement and relieve the oppressed, or judge the fatherless and plead for the widow, had nothing to do with the invalidating of their prayers, which was solely due to their animal sacrifices, it remains to be shown why he was so crass as to introduce an extraneous and irrelevant matter at so vital a point. For if Maclaurin's thesis means anything, it means that the Israelite who was full of good works and devotion to the will of God would be hounded from his Maker's presence, in Isaiah's view, if he dared to offer any sacrifice and thus fill his hands with blood. The virtue or vice of his life was quite immaterial to a God whose only vital interest was to protect animals from slaughter. In the interests of this theory Maclaurin renders Hos. vi, 6b 'and the knowledge of God without burnt-offerings' (p. 29), and then denies to his opponents the right to render the preposition as a comparative. That the preposition in itself, could have either meaning is the fact, and that the comparative rendering is not only possible but more natural is evidenced by the fact that it is not theorists with an axe to grind who have so rendered it, but translators generally, both ancient and modern, whereas Maclaurin's rendering is one that would only occur to a writer with an axe to grind, whose theory was embarrassed by the verse. Similarly any text that stands in his way has to be mauled about by unnatural exegesis. In order to maintain the view that 'the religious aspect of sacrifice had been forgotten by those whom it is convenient, anachronistically, to call Bue Abraham'—presumably for Bne Abraham—'before they crossed the threshold of history', he argues that the altar does not necessarily imply sacrifice, and so concludes from silence that no animal sacrifices were offered on altars except where they are specified, and suggests that Gen. xv, 9 f. means that the Baal of Canaan—here called Yahweh—was instructing Abraham in a sacrificial rite with which he was quite unacquainted, and which was really Canaanite, and that the Canaanite Baal was here adopting the newcomers because he was dissatisfied with his old worshippers (pp. 3 f.). All of this will convince whom it may. But since this is acknowledged to have been a sacrifice, we might have been informed whether it is recognized to have been possible without a professional priest, or have been offered some evidence that Abraham employed such a priest.

were the organ of the common desire for harmony with God's will, they were believed to be potent. Yet there was nowhere any suggestion that such sacrifices were potent independently of the spirit of the community. In Ex. xix. 5, which is assigned by some scholars to the earliest document of the Pentateuch,[1] we read : ' Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me from among all peoples'. There is no promise that if due ritual is performed, the favour of God can be ensured, but instead the requirement of loyalty and obedience to the will of God. This is stressed even more in Deut. xxviii, where blessing is promised to the nation so long as it hearkens to the commandments of God, and disaster when it flouts His will. It is obedience in life, and not mere sacrifice that ensures blessing. When the prophets declared that a harvest of sorrow would be reaped because the whole of society was rotten in the eyes of God, despite the splendour of the ritual, they were not saying anything that was alien in principle to what is said in the Law. In the ritual of the day of Atonement, when atonement was made for the sins of the community, an essential element in the ritual was the priestly confession of the sin of the community.[2] That confession was made by the priest as the representative of the community, and in so far as it did not represent the spirit of the community it was meaningless. To treat this element of the ritual as a hollow formality, in which the sincerity of the priest, or the genuineness of its expression of the attitude of the community towards itself

[1] So S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 9th ed., 1913, p. 31 ; Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, 1934, p. 37. Some scholars assign the verse to later hands, however. Thus O. Eissfeldt (*Hexateuch-Synopse*, 1922, p. 146*) assigns it to E, and G. Beer (*Exodus*, in Eissfeldt's Handbuch zum Alten Testament, 1939, p. 97) to E_1, while A. Weiser (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed., 1949, p. 89) finds J and E elements to be mixed in Ex. xix, and does not specify which this verse is. W. H. Bennett ascribes it vaguely to a Redactor (*Exodus*, in Century Bible, p. 157), while others specify R^D. So Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus*, in Nowack's Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament, 1903, p. 172; C. Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1912, p. 150 ; A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus*, in Westminster Commentary, 2nd ed., 1917, p. 110 ; *La Bible du Centenaire*, i, 1941, p. 94 ; C. A. Simpson, *The Early Traditions of Israel*, 1948, p. 199.

[2] Lev. xvi, 21.

and towards God, is of no moment, is to do less than justice to the Law. Whether in individual sacrifice or in public sacrifice it was the attitude of heart of those for whom the offering was made that alone could validate the ritual. Yet where it was thus validated, it was in either case believed to be charged with power.

It is important here to realize that while sacrifice was thought to have potency, it was potent only when accompanied by genuine penitence and submission. On the other hand, penitence and submission alone were not sufficient for the cases where sacrifice was prescribed. They were primary as the condition of blessing, and it was always recognized in the true stream of Israel's religion that obedience was better than sacrifice;[1] but it was not supposed that man could save himself from his sin either by his penitence or by his sacrifice. It was divine power that reached down to save him in the moment when he offered himself with his sacrifice. The animal of itself could do nothing for him. But when its sacrifice was the organ of his approach in humble surrender and obedience to God, it became the organ of God's approach in power to bless him.

Wheeler Robinson has linked this fruitfully with the practice of prophetic symbolism.[2] Often the prophets performed symbolic acts, such as Jeremiah's wearing of a wooden yoke,[3] or Isaiah's appearance in Jerusalem unclothed.[4] These were not mere dramatizations of the word of the prophets, but were acted prophecies, as potent to release power for their own fulfilment as the spoken word of the prophets.[5] Yet they are to be differentiated from magic, in that they did not represent the desire of the prophet to control events by the exercise of a technique. Often the prophet hated the message with which

[1] 1 Sam. xv, 21. Cf. Eccl. v, 1: 'Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God; for to draw nigh to hear is better than to give the sacrifice of fools'.

[2] *Redemption and Revelation*, pp. 250 f.; *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, pp. 227 f.; and 'Hebrew Sacrifice and Prophetic Symbolism', in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xliii, 1942, pp. 129 ff.

[3] Jer. xxvii f. [4] Isa. xx.

[5] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson 'Prophetic Symbolism' in *Old Testament Essays* (Papers read before the Society for Old Testament Study), 1927, pp. 1 ff.; also *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, pp. 185 f.

he was charged. Yet he profoundly felt that he was under the divine control, and his word and act alike expressed God's will and not his own, so that the power with which they were charged was not human power to control God, but divine power released to fulfil the purpose of God.[1] In the same way, Wheeler Robinson suggests, the sacrifices were symbolic acts, ' actualized approaches to God ', not mere *opera operata* in the realm of magic, but expressions of the spirit of the offerer, which initiated a new relation to God. It cannot be denied that many in Israel had a merely magical view of sacrifice, as many of other nations have had, and thought that the correct performance of the ritual was all that mattered. But if they were ' actualized approaches to God ', they were meaningless without the approach in spirit which they were designed to actualize.

Much is said in the Law of unwitting sins in connexion with the sin offering and the guilt offering, and it would seem that only unwitting sins were capable of being cleansed by sacrifice. Alongside unwitting sins we find mention of sins committed with a high hand, as though these were the only two classes of sins. It is as improbable that unwitting sins means sins committed in ignorance in every case as it is that sins committed with a high hand means sins knowingly committed. For the sin offering and the guilt offering were not valid for sins committed with a high hand. Yet they were valid for false dealing with a neighbour in the matter of a deposit, or of robbery or oppression, or of the wrongful retention of something that was lost. In none of these cases does it seem likely that the sinner would be ignorant of his sin at the time of his committing it. On the other hand, unwitting sin in many cases quite clearly means sins that were accidentally committed, violating some ritual taboo, of which the sinner became conscious only after his act. In this connexion it is of interest to note that the leper who became cleansed of his leprosy had to offer a sin offering and a burnt offering.[2] Here

[1] Cf. *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, p. 227 : ' Genetically, they spring from the widespread practice of symbolic magic, but the prophets have transformed them into religion by assimilating them to the will of God ' ; *Journal of Theological Studies*, *loc. cit.*, p. 132 : ' Magic constrains the unseen ; religion means surrender to it'.

[2] Lev. xiv. 1-19.

either his leprosy was itself regarded as a ritual ' sin ', or it was believed to be the punishment for some undisclosed sin. It is more probable that the former was the case,[1] and that it was regarded as an unwitting sin because it came upon a man independently of his own volition.[2]

Clearly, however, the distinction between unwitting sins and high-handed sins is something different from sins committed in ignorance and sins knowingly committed, and if conscious sins could ever be atoned for by a sacrifice, then high-handed sins must be defined in some other way. It is probable that by these is meant deliberate sins, perpetrated of set purpose, rather than sins into which a man ' fell ' through human weakness, or involuntarily. Paul says : ' For that which I do I know not : for not what I would, that do I practise ; but what I hate, that I do . . . For the good that I would I do not : but the evil that I would not, that I practise '.[3] It is probable that this passage gives the clue to the Old Testament distinction, and that it is a distinction between sins which a man commits through ignorance or through weakness, or willy-nilly, and those which he commits because they are the expression of his real nature, arising out of the essential purpose of his heart. For these no sacrifice could atone. Moreover, there are whole classes of sins for which no ritual is provided. These are heinous sins, of too great a magnitude to be dealt with by ritual acts.[4] For murder and adultery the Law provided no means of atonement, and only demanded the execution of the murderer or adulterer. Yet

[1] The sin for which leprosy could be regarded as a punishment would be some very heinous sin, for which no sacrifice could atone. The cure of the leper would be evidence that the sin was forgiven, and therefore not needing to be atoned for by his sacrifice. It is more likely that the sacrifice was for the ritual cleansing of the leper so that he could again take his place in society.

[2] It is to be noted that after childbirth a woman was required to offer a sin offering (Lev. xii). There could be nothing unwitting about the bearing of a child, and since the Hebrews valued the fruit of the womb as God's blessing to man, and even believed that God's first command to man was to be fruitful and multiply (Gen. i, 28), it would not have been regarded as a sin in any moral sense. Hence, here again the purpose seems to have been to fit the woman ritually to take her place in society once more. (Cf. preceding note.)

[3] Rom. vii, 17, 19.

[4] Cf. E. König, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 3rd and 4th ed., 1923, pp. 294 ff.

sometimes we find that there is cleansing even for sins of this magnitude and it is clear that in the thought of the Old Testament sacrifice is not the only organ of atonement. To remember this is of the first importance in any study of sacrifice, or of the treatment of sin, in the Old Testament.

One of the passages frequently associated with the prophetic passages in which sacrifices are denounced, and held to reveal an attitude of hostility to sacrifice under any circumstances,[1] is

[1] So C. J. Cadoux, *Expository Times*, lviii, 1946-1947, p. 45. Like many others Cadoux rejects the last two verses of the Psalm as a patent addition, because they will not square with his interpretation of these two earlier verses. Some modern editors have defended their originality, however. So e.g. C. A. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, in the International Critical Commentary, ii, 1909, p. 10, where they are said to be 'essential to the completeness of the Strophe'. G. Widengren (*The Accadian and Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation as Religious Documents*, 1937, pp. 31 f.) also holds to the unity of the psalm, and maintains that the reason no sacrifices were desired by God was simply that Jerusalem lay in ruins. If these last two verses are original, the Psalm could hardly have been written before the exile. Without them, we have no means of determining its age. I am inclined to agree with Cadoux that they are an addition, though not on the ground of disagreement with the earlier verses on the question of sacrifice, but because they have no relation to the individual penitence which marks the rest of the psalm. It is usually supposed that they were added to counteract the previous verses which rejected sacrifices. I think C. Ryder Smith (*The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*, 1941, p. 85) is more penetrating here. He says: 'Why did some one, after having read the Psalm, add them, and why did others accept the addition? Not, surely, just because he and they wanted to push ritual in somehow, but because they felt that, when the experience so poignantly described in the psalm was theirs, they could go on to use the sacrifices of the Temple sacramentally. There were men who, having cried out for "a clean heart" and "a right spirit", knew that the right use of ritual would help them to find it.' S. Daiches claimed that in the Psalms 'sacrifices' frequently does not mean animal sacrifices (cf. 'The Meaning of "Sacrifices" in the Psalms', in *Essays Presented to J. H. Hertz*, 1944, pp. 97 ff.), and maintained that the last two verses of Psa. li had no reference to animal sacrifices, burnt offerings, whole offerings and bullocks being merely figures of speech for 'sacrifices of righteousness', which he understood to mean sacrifices which consist in righteous living. This is forced and unnatural. Moreover, it is commonly recognized to-day that many of the Psalms accompanied ritual acts. This view of the Psalter is particularly associated with the name of S. Mowinckel, whose *Psalmenstudien*, 1921-1924, will remain as one of the most creative of studies on the Psalms, however much particular views may be criticized. This view of the Psalms is older than the work of Mowinckel, however. In 1919 A. J. Wensinck wrote: 'My thesis is that, for the greater part, the Psalms are spoken rhythmic illustrations of the acts of worship; just as the musical part of the Catholic Mass is an illustration

Psa. li, 16 f. (Heb. 18 f.): 'For thou delightest not in sacrifice; else would I give it: Thou hast no pleasure in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' These verses are taken right out of their context, as the prophetic passages are, and held to prove that the Psalmist believed that sacrifices were futile under all circumstances.[1] It would seem wiser to examine it in relation to its context before such sweeping conclusions are drawn. By its heading this Psalm is associated with David's adultery with Bathsheba and the scandalous removal of Uriah that amounted to murder. The sins of adultery and murder were on David's head at that time, therefore. Most modern scholars ascribe the Psalm to a later date. But whatever its date, it can scarcely be denied that it would be appropriate to such a situation,[2] and the psalmist may have composed it with David in mind, to be used by others who were conscious of heinous sins. Certainly it represents the cry of one who was profoundly conscious of some very great sin. In such a situation as David's there would be nothing whatever inconsistent with the Law in this

and a rhythmization of the ritual acts. In this connexion the description of the service 2 Chron. 29, 27-30 is of importance: "And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt offering upon the altar. And when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also with the trumpets and with the instrument ordained by David king of Israel. And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded: and all this continued until the burnt offering was finished" (reprinted in *Semietische Studiën uit de nalatenschap van A. J. Wensinck*, 1941, p. 57). If such a view is correct, it is improbable that such passages in the Psalms as Psa. li, 16 f. (Heb. 18 f.) are rightly to be understood as the condemnation of all sacrifice. Indeed, I have elsewhere suggested that nothing could be more appropriate than this Psalm to make the offerer of a sin offering realize that the spirit in which he came to the altar was of more importance than his offering, or to call forth from him the spirit of penitence which would make the offering the genuine organ of his approach to God (BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxix, 1945-1946, pp. 352 f.). Originally written to express the feelings of a penitent who had sinned more deeply than the ritual law provided for, it could call forth from other sinners who used its ritual a profound sense of need and penitence in the presence of God.

[1] Other passages in the Psalms similarly held to be opposed to sacrifice under all circumstances are dealt with by C. Lattey, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlii, 1941, pp. 161 f.

[2] B. D. Eerdmans (*The Hebrew Book of Psalms* (Oudtestamentische Studiën, iv), 1947, pp. 274 ff.) defends the ascription of the Psalm to David.

cry. No sacrifice was provided by the Law for murder and adultery, and it is therefore strictly in accordance with the Law to say that in such case sacrifice and offering are not desired by God.[1] It is gratuitous to assume that the psalmist meant to imply that sacrifice was equally useless under quite other circumstances where the Law did prescribe it. Whether David or another, the psalmist would seem to be one who had committed a sin that stood outside the categories dealt with in the ritual, but who was deeply penitent for his sin, or who wrote in the character of such a sinner.

That there could be pardon for such sins in the thought of the Old Testament is clear from the sequel to Nathan's rebuke of David. The conscience of the king was touched, and in genuine penitence he cried: 'I have sinned against the Lord'.[2] And Nathan said: 'The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die'.[3] Here, let it be observed, the cleansing was the response to penitence, and not achieved by the penitence. It was the act of God, as it must ever be, whether associated with sacrifice or not. Moreover, the divine forgiveness did not dispense with the punishment. It is true that here the punishment took the form of the death of the child, but it was regarded as the punishment of David. Similarly, when Ahab humbled himself before the Lord following the rebuke of Elijah after the affair of Naboth, his repentance was accepted by God, though the penalty for his sin had still to be reaped. Here it was deferred to his son's days; but it was not to be avoided.[4] With our more individualistic outlook we find injustice here, though it would not occur to men of that time, with their stronger sense of the solidarity of the family and the race. Nor is it contrary to experience

[1] M. Burrows (*An Outline of Biblical Theology*, 1946, p. 244) says: 'The fact that the Psalms were used in the temple makes it all the more remarkable that in them forgiveness and divine favour are often represented as dependent, not on sacrifice, but on confession and prayer'. It is less remarkable if we remember the Law's insistence on confession, and the areas of sin for which no sacrifice was prescribed. H. Herkenne (*Das Buch der Psalmen*, in Feldmann and Herkenne's Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes, 1936, p. 191) noted that the sins of David, with which the heading associates this Psalm, lay beyond the field of prescribed sacrifices.

[2] 2 Sam. xii, 13. [3] *Ibid.* [4] 1 Kings xxi, 29.

that children often pay the price of their father's sins, and that the effects of such a crime as that of Ahab and Jezebel against Naboth often take time to develop. Here, however, where the thought of the Old Testament is what concerns us, it is important to note two things. The first is the recognition that even the divine forgiveness does not cancel all the effects of sin. While this is elementary, it is often forgotten. A man who has ruined his health by sinful excesses does not find himself restored to health by repentance. Moreover, others whom he has influenced may continue their excesses to his lasting reproach. David sinned and repented. But his son Amnon followed in the way of his father's lust,[1] and Absalom in that of his father's bloodguiltiness,[2] without repenting. The Bible does not conceal facts in the interest of an unreal theory, and Biblical theology is grounded in experience. The second thing to note is that in the thought of the Old Testament the cleansing of the sin was of more importance than the escaping of its consequences.[3] The only penitence it valued was a genuine horror of the sin, and not a selfish desire to avoid the punishment.

While, therefore, we cannot think of salvation from sin in the thought of the Old Testament without thinking of sacrifice, we seriously err if we think only of sacrifice. There are many passages which tell of men's response in submission to the chastening discipline of God, or to His message of rebuke, where there is reference to restored relations with God without any mention of sacrifice. Penitence and submission on man's part are the invariable conditions of his salvation ; but the organ of salvation, whether sacrifice is offered or not, is conceived to be the power of God.

Nevertheless, it must be recognised that there was peril in the Law's emphasis on unwitting sin and provision of sacrifices for its cleansing, since it is undeniable that unwitting sin could mean, and often did mean, sins committed in ignorance or

[1] 2 Sam. xiii, 11 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, 26 ff.

[3] I am not able, therefore, to agree with N. H. Snaith, when he renders Isa. liii, 11b : 'For it was their iniquities (i.e. punishments) he was bearing' (*The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, p. 92). It seems unnecessary to force the thought of this chapter below so much else in the Old Testament by imposing upon it the equation of punishment and iniquity.

involuntarily, and especially ritual rather than moral offences. The purpose of those who framed the Law was to stress the exceeding sinfulness of sin, but manifestly there could not be the same quality in the repentance when one was unconscious of the sin at the time it was committed, or not responsible for it, and such sacrifices tended to be regarded as mediating automatic cleansing. Hence the evils against which the prophets had protested were not wholly guarded against, and while at its best Judaism was spiritually sensitive, at its worst it became a mere externalism. But just as the prophets had declared to those of their contemporaries who supposed that the potency of the sacrifice lay in the due performance of the external ritual alone, and who knew no compunction for sins which exceeded any that sacrifice was prescribed for, that they were offering vain and meaningless sacrifices, which were an offence to God, and which but added to their sin, so there were voices in Judaism which renewed the same message and rebuked those who supposed that a formal act unrelated to the spirit could suffice to win God's favour. In the second century B.C. Ben Sira wrote : ' The sacrifice of an unrighteous man is a mockery,[1] and the oblations of the wicked are not acceptable.[2] The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the godless ; nor is pacified for sins by the multitude of sacrifices.' [3] In the Mishnah we read : ' If a man say, I will sin and repent, I will sin again and repent, he will be given no chance to repent. If he say, I will sin and the Day of Atonement will clear me, the Day of Atonement will effect no

[1] This rendering is preferable to that of R.V. : ' He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is made in mockery'. G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley, in Charles's *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, i, 1913, p. 435, render : ' The sacrifice of the unrighteous man is a mocking offering '. This is in part supported by the Syriac, which has ' The sacrifices of the unrighteous are unrighteous '. It agrees closely with the rendering of V. Ryssel (in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, i. 1900, reprinted 1921, p. 403) : ' Das Opfer des Ungerechten ist eine Gabe, die (Gottes) spottet '.

[2] This rendering follows the Syriac. Box and Oesterley have : ' And unacceptable are the oblations of the godless '. Cf. Ryssel's ' wie denn auch die Spöttereien der Gottlosen ihm nicht zum Wohlgefallen gereichen '. R.V. following the Greek, has : ' And the mockeries of wicked men are not well-pleasing '.

[3] Ecclus, xxxiv. 18 f. (xxxi. 21-23).

atonement.'[1] The writer of those words interpreted high-handed sin as has been done above. In the Tosephta we find: 'Sin offering and guilt offering and death and the Day of Atonement all put together do not effect atonement without repentance'.[2] Yet later, in the Talmud we read: 'Be not like fools who sin and bring an offering without repenting'.[3] These sayings were written by men who studied the Law and loved it, and who believed they were true to its spirit and principles in what they wrote; yet they were equally true to the principles of the great prophets. For there was no difference between them in these fundamental questions. Where sacrifice was prescribed and was offered, it must be the organ of the spirit of the offerer before it could be the organ of the power of God unto him or on his behalf. Where sacrifice was not prescribed because the sin was so much more heinous, then penitence and humble submission were even more called for ere the divine power could operate in the heart of the sinner.

Before we leave the subject of sacrifice in the Old Testament, however, we must turn to the figure of the Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. It is well known that there are four passages here which are commonly linked together, Isa. xlii, 1-4, xlix, 1-6, l, 4-9, and lii, 13-liii, 12. If we bring together the thought of these four passages we see that it was the mission of the Servant to set justice in the earth, and to give his law to men. He is thus thought of as instrumental in bringing about the state of universal worship of the God of Israel and obedience to His will. Hence his work is connected with the bringing in of the Golden Age that was elsewhere associated with the Davidic Messiah. There is no evidence that the Suffering Servant was equated with the Messiah in pre-Christian days,[4] and definite evidence

[1] Yoma viii, 9. Cf. H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, 1933, p. 172.

[2] Tosephta Yoma v. 9 (ed. Zuckermandel, 1937, p. 190, line 23).

[3] T. B. Berachoth 23a. Cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud mit Einschluss der voltständigen Mišnah*, i, 1892, p. 82.

[4] Some recent writers contest this statement. Cf. J. Jeremias, in *Deutsche Theologie*, ii, 1929, pp. 106 ff.; N. Johansson, *Parakletoi*, 1940, pp. 113 ff.; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1948, pp. 274 ff.; J. Jocz, *The Jewish People and Jesus Christ*, 1949, p. 162. No solid evidence coming from a pre-Christian date can be produced in support of their position, and the evidence of

in the New Testament that the two figures were not equated, since the disciples were always bewildered when Jesus spoke in terms of suffering. Nevertheless, they are both related to the Golden Age of universal obedience to God's will, and have their roots in common ideas, even though they are different conceptions as to how their hopes should be realized. The second song shows that the Servant has a mission to Israel as well as to the nations, while the third recognizes that his mission will involve him in grievous suffering, and the fourth declares that his suffering will be the organ of his mission, and not merely incidental to it. Men will say: 'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed'.[1] There is therefore potency in his sufferings, potency to effect something in, or on behalf of, others, and not himself. He himself is declared to be without sin, indeed: 'although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth'.[2] His death was not the consequence of his own sin; it was potent on behalf of others. He is likened to a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and it is clear that his death is thought of in terms of sacrifice. Just as the sacrificed animal dies not for its own sins, but to be the bearer of man's spirit to God and of God's blessing and cleansing to man, so the Servant is conceived. Moreover, the term *'āshām*, which is the technical name for a guilt offering, is used of him.[3] The Servant is therefore said to be a sacrifice

the New Testament is firmly against it. For the Gospels show that whenever our Lord spoke of His mission in terms of suffering, the disciples were completely bewildered and failed to understand what He meant. Hence most scholars support the view which I have expressed in the text above. So Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, ii, 1924, p. 274; G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, i, 1927, p. 551; M. J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ*, 1931, p. 385; P. Volz, *Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1934, p. 228; J. Héring, *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*, xviii, 1938, pp. 419 ff.; J. J. Brierre-Narbonne, *Le Messie souffrant dans la littérature rabbinique*, 1940, p. 133; H. Wheeler Robinson, *Redemption and Revelation*, 1942, pp. 199, 251 f.; M. Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology*, 1946, p. 86.

[1] Isa. liii, 5. [2] *Ibid.*, 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, 10. The text of this verse is almost certainly corrupt. R.V. has: 'When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days'. All editors find difficulties here, and many suggested

that is effective for those whose hearts are so moved by his sufferings that they humbly confess their own sin, and recognize that his death may be at once the organ of their approach in humble submission to God and of God's approach in cleansing power unto them. They therefore bring to the offering the spirit which we have seen to be essential to the validation of sacrifice, and acknowledge that the death he died should rightly have been theirs, ere they find through his death their redemption from sin. 'Surely he has borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.'[1] They then become aware that he has borne their iniquities and that through him they are justified.[2] The term *to justify* is commonly a forensic term, meaning *to declare in the right*. Here, however, it cannot have that meaning. For it could not be supposed that in virtue of the death of the Servant, God would give a verdict in favour of others, though He knew full well that they were not in the right. This would be to declare God an Unjust Judge, in contradiction to the uniform teaching of the Bible, and it is improbable that that was the thought of the writer. God's judgements are invariably declared to be in accord with strict justice, and no gift can corrupt Him to depart from righteousness. If men who are conscious of their sin are declared righteous, it is because they have become righteous. They have become separated from their sins and have been cleansed in their inner nature.[3] When Isaiah received his call he was conscious of his sin until the live coal from the altar touched his lips, when the voice said: 'Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged'.[4] It was not that there was pretence in the presence of God, but that he there

changes have been put forward. One of the simplest is that of R. Levy, who differently divides the first two words (reading *'ᵉmeth śām* for *'im tāśim*) and secures the sense: 'Truly he gave himself an offering for sin; He shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days'. Cf. *Deutero-Isaiah*, 1925, pp. 266 f.

[1] Isa. liii, 5. [2] *Ibid.*, 11.

[3] N. H. Snaith (*The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, p. 92) proposes to translate Isa. liii, 11: 'The righteous one, my servant, will make many prosperous'. This is highly improbable, and if, as is frequently supposed, Dan. xii, 2 is a reference to this verse, it could not have been understood by the writer of that passage as Snaith understands it. Moreover, this rendering takes too little account of the context in Isa. liii, where the Servant is referred to as a guilt offering. [4] Isa. vi, 7.

became a new creature. So here, in relation to the Servant, when men are declared righteous, it is because through the sin offering of his death they become righteous. There is potency in the sacrifice to cleanse them, when they bring to the sacrifice the spirit that validates it for them by making it the organ of their approach to God.

Here, then, is something of outstanding importance in the Old Testament teaching on sacrifice. It is the idea of a sacrifice that transcends animal sacrifice, in which instead of an animal without physical blemish,[1] one who is without moral blemish is put to death. Moreover the victim, while he is cruelly maltreated and slain by others, yields himself willingly unto them. 'I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame and spitting'.[2] Further, this sacrifice is conceived of as of far wider effectiveness than any of the sacrifices of the ritual. The ordinary sin offering or guilt offering could be effective for the individual offerer, and the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement for the whole Jewish community, when individual or people turned to God in the right spirit. But if the earlier Servant Songs declare that the Servant has a mission to all the world and that its execution will involve suffering, the fourth song both makes it clear that the suffering is the organ of the mission, and not merely incidental to it, and also shows that it is the organ of service to the Gentiles.

It has been observed already that though the concept of the Davidic Messiah and the Suffering Servant might have common roots, they were different conceptions; also that they are related in that both have reference to the Golden Age. Both bring world-wide and beneficent consequences to men, and lead to the universal worship of God. In the pictures of the Davidic Messiah we see a state of society that far transcended the contemporary society known to the prophets,[3] and here we see a sacrifice that far transcends in quality and power any of the sacrifices of the Temple.

[1] This is constantly insisted on in the Law as a necessity in sacrificial victims.

[2] Isa. 1, 6.

[3] Cf. Isa. ii, 3 f.; Mic. iv, 2-4; Isa. ix, 6 f. (Heb. 5 f.), xi, 4-9, and other similar passages.

It lies beyond my immediate purpose to identify the figure of the Servant in the prophet's thought, since my concern is with the meaning of sacrifice, rather than with the definition of the victim. Nevertheless, it is necessary to say something on this point, and not to leave this profoundest of Old Testament words on sacrifice in the air. Jewish scholars have commonly held the Servant to be Israel, and in modern times that was the view of many nineteenth century scholars, and of not a few in the twentieth century.[1] Others, especially during the last half century, have claimed that the reference is to some unknown individual, either contemporary with the prophet or belonging to an earlier generation,[2] and several have proposed to identify the Servant with the prophet himself.[3] There is much to suggest a connexion

[1] So K. Budde, *Die sogenannten Ebed-Jawhe-Lieder*, 1900: F. Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht Jahwes des Deuterojesaia*, 1902; A. S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, 1904, pp. 34 ff., and *The Servant of Yahweh*, 1931, pp. 1 ff.; A. Lods, *Les Prophètes d'Israël*, 1935, pp. 275 ff. (E. Tr., 1937, pp. 244 ff.), and *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950, pp. 472 ff. Some scholars have preferred to think of the Israel within Israel (so C. F. Burney, *Church Quarterly Review*, lxxv, 1912-1913, pp. 99 ff.; O. C. Whitehouse, *Isaiah xl-lxvi*, in the Century Bible, pp. 18 ff.), or of the ideal Israel (so J. Skinner, *Isaiah, Chapters 40-46*, in the Cambridge Bible, revised ed., 1917, pp. lvi ff.; G. H. Box, *The Book of Isaiah*, 1916, pp. 194 ff., 265 ff.).

[2] Many suggestions have been made, e.g., an anonymous leprous Rabbi (so B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, in Nowack's Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament, 1892, pp. xviii, 284 ff., 365 ff.; cf. M. Schian, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jesaias 40-66*, 1895; A. Marmorstein, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. iii, 1926, pp. 260 ff.; and M. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith*, 1949, pp. 227 f.); Moses (so E. Sellin, *Mose und seine Bedeutung für die israelitisch-jüdische Religionsgeschichte*, 1922, pp. 81 ff.); Uzziah (so K. Dietze, *Ussia, der Knecht Gottes, sein Leben und sein Leiden und seine Bedeutung für den Propheten Jesaja*, in Abhandlungen und Vorträge der Bonner Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft, iv, Heft 1/2, 1929, and *Nachwort zu 'Ussia'*, 1930); Jeremiah (so, in a modified form, F. A. Farley, *Expository Times*, xxxviii, 1926-1927, pp. 521 ff.; S. H. Blank, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xv, 1940, pp. 18 ff.); Jehoiachin (so E. Sellin, *Das Rätsel des deuterojesajanischen Buches*, 1908, pp. 131 ff.; cf. L. H. Bleeker, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xl, 1922, p. 156; E. Burrows, *The Gospel of the Infancy*, 1940, pp. 59 ff.); Zerubbabel (so E. Sellin, *Serubbabel*, 1898, pp. 148 ff.); Meshullam, the son of Zerubbabel (so L. Palache, *The Ebed-Jahweh Enigma in Pseudo-Isaiah*, 1934).

[3] So S. Mowinckel, *Der Knecht Jahwäs*, 1921; E. Balla, in *Eucharisterion* (Gunkel Festschrift), i, 1923, pp. 245 ff.; J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja*, 1938, pp. 131 ff.; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2nd ed., 1949, pp. 153 ff. For modifications of the view of Mowinckel, cf. E. Sellin, *Neue*

of the Servant with Israel, though no simple identification will do here. There is also much to suggest an individual, though again all the names suggested seem inadequate. It is hard to see how any writer in the exilic period could suppose that Moses, or Jeremiah, or Jehoiachin, or the prophet himself, could satisfy the conditions of this conception and serve as a sacrificial victim of such universal potency.[1] Hence some have continued to advocate the traditional messianic interpretation.[2] Yet this is not without difficulties, and most of those who hold this view find themselves forced to delete the word *Israel* in Isa. xlix. 3, on very inadequate grounds.[3] It seems wiser, therefore, to adopt no simple individual or collective view. It is probable that the Servant is in part the personification of the mission of

kirchliche Zeitschrift, xli, 1930, pp. 73 ff., 145 ff., and *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. xiv, 1937, pp. 177 ff.; P. Volz, *Jesaia II*, in Sellin's Kommentar zum Alten Testament, 1932, pp. 149 ff., and *Prophetengestalten des Alten Testamentes*, 1938, pp. 316 ff.; K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Trito-jesaja*, 1933, pp. 75 ff., 267 ff. For Mowinckel's modifications of his own view, cf. *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, N.F. viii, 1931, pp. 245 ff., and *De senere profeter*, in Michelet-Mowinckel-Messel, *Det Gamle Testamente*, iii, 1944, pp. 192 ff.

[1] For some views which find in the conception a variety of elements derived in part from the liturgy or from history, cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*, vii, 1942, pp. 5 ff.; I. Engnell, *ibid.*, x, 1945, pp. 31 ff., and BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, xxxi, 1948, pp. 54 ff.; A. Bentzen, *Indledning til det Gamle Testamente*, I i, 1941, pp. 98 ff., E. Tr. *Introduction to the Old Testament*, ii, 1949, pp. 110 ff., and *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn*, 1948.

[2] So J. Fischer, *Wer ist der Ebed in den Perikopen Js 42, 1-7; 49, 1-9a; 50, 4-9; 52, 13-53, 12*? 1922, and *Das Buch Isaias*, in Feldmann and Herkenne's Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes, ii, 1939, pp. 8 ff.; F. Feldmann, *Der Knecht Gottes in Isaias Kap. 40-55*, 1907, and *Das Buch Isaias*, in Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, ii, 1926, pp. 16 ff.; J. van der Ploeg, *Les Chants du Serviteur de Jahvé*, 1936; O. Procksch, in *In piam memoriam A. von Bulmerincq*, 1938, pp. 146 ff.; P. Heinisch, *Theologie des Alten Testamentes*, 1940, pp. 316 ff.; A. H. Edelkoort, *De Christusverwachting in het Oude Testament*, 1941, pp. 372 ff.; R. T. Murphy, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, ix, 1947, pp. 262 ff.; E. J. Young, *Westminster Theological Journal*, x, 1947-1948, pp. 148 ff., esp. p. 151; L. Dennefeld, *Les grands Prophètes*, in Pirot and Clamer's *La Sainte Bible*, vii, 1947, pp. 156 f., 179, 184 f., 191 ff.

[3] A single unimportant MS omits the word. For a study of the value of the MS. cf. J. A. Bewer, in *Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*, 1935, pp. 86 ff. It is sometimes said that metrical reasons demand the excision, but actually the verse is metrically more regular with it than without it. Cf. F. Prätorius, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxxvi, 1916, pp. 9 f.

Israel, and in part the delineation of one who should embody its mission in himself, and fulfil the mission with peculiar fullness, so that he should play a notable part in the achievement of the Golden Age.[1] Something of the fluidity of what has become known as 'corporate personality' is found here,[2] so that the Servant is both the community and an individual who represents it. While the mission will be peculiarly fulfilled in one, it is nevertheless the mission to which all are called, and all should enter in some measure into it. In either case, it seems to me certain that the prophet was looking into the future for the Servant. The Israel of his day did not fulfil his vision, and certainly no individual of that or an earlier day did. He could therefore only think of a future Israel that should fulfil this mission to the world through suffering, and of a future individual Israelite who should in himself and in his own sufferings carry that mission to a unique, and uniquely effective, point.[3]

Here, then, we must end our brief examination of the meaning of sacrifice in the thought of the Old Testament. We have not been able to study all the forms of sacrifice, or all the details of its varied ritual. Nor has our primary study been of such things as the originally apotropaic meaning of the Passover sacrifice, or of the terms of the message which later sacrifices were thought to present to God—a message of thankfulness, of plea, or of propitiation. Rather have we gone below that to the underlying thought of all sacrifice as the organ of the offerer's presentation of himself to God, the bearer of his spirit to the exalted Being he

[1] This is substantially the view of C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, 1948, though with particular emphasis on the individual messianic element. His book provides an unrivalled review of the history of interpretation of the Servant.

[2] Cf. H. Wheeler Robinson, 'The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality', in *Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments*, ed. by J. Hempel, 1936, pp. 49 ff.; also in *The Psalmists*, ed. by D. C. Simpson, 1926, pp. 82 ff., and in *The People and the Book*, ed. by A. S. Peake, 1925, pp. 375 ff., and *The Cross of the Servant*, 1926. With the view of Wheeler Robinson, cf. that of O. Eissfeldt, in *Expository Times*, xliv, 1932-1933, pp. 261 ff., and *Der Gottesknecht bei Deutero-jesaja*, 1933; also N. Johansson, *Parakletoi*, 1940, pp. 49 ff.

[3] Cf. what I have written on this subject in *Israel's Mission to the World*, 1939, pp. 10 ff.; *The Missionary Message of the Old Testament*, 1945, pp. 51 ff.; *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 1950, pp. 111 ff.

approached, and therefore meaningless unless he brought with it the appropriate spirit. It is not as an external act that it had meaning, but as an external act charged with his spirit. Yet neither can sacrifice be understood merely as man's approach to God. It is also God's approach to him, charged with power. It thus carries a two-way traffic, and God's readiness to release power for the blessing of man through this avenue only waited for the opening of the two-way traffic by man's approach to Him in humility and submission. Yet all the animal sacrifices failed to meet man's need, since the sins that most needed cleansing were beyond the range of their power. A sacrifice greater than any the Law provided, and more far-ranging in its power, was therefore envisaged in the Old Testament, and its deepest word on sacrifice speaks of one never offered on the altar of the Temple or provided in the ritual of the Pentateuch, but one to which it looked forward beyond the Old Testament itself.

SOME LETTERS OF ST. AUGUSTINE [1]

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THE secular reader of St. Augustine's *Confessions* must sometimes regret the tantalizingly cursory references to contemporary events and persons, often just mentioned by the writer and then dropped as having no direct bearing on his spiritual development. It is true that the work was not written to assist historical curiosity: it is a self-critical acknowledgment of the predestinating will which, in spite of much resistance and pride, had led him to accept Christian truth and had also delivered him from vice and ambition. He mentions therefore only those persons and things which have seemed instrumental in the Divine purpose: all else is discarded as casual and unimportant. Thus, when he went to Italy in the years 383-388 and taught as a Professor of Rhetoric at Rome and Milan, we meet Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, but as the human being who gave a kind welcome to the African stranger, as the bishop who spoke to Augustine in the highest terms of praise for Monica's faith, and as the preacher through whom Augustine was converted to Christianity. Of Ambrose, the statesman, the aristocrat, diplomat, man of letters, and controversialist we hear very little. He tells us again that in 385 he pronounced a panegyric before the Emperor in the Imperial Court: but he tells us nothing of the oration and his treatment of the theme (except that it was mostly false), nothing of the personages assembled, and nothing of the occasion: he is solely concerned with his own morbid unhappiness as he walks through the streets of Milan to the palace, undecided whether to follow his hopes of preferment in the State, or to obey the Divine call. By his favourite method of contrast he presents the famous picture of himself on the very threshold of fortune, yet depressed by the prospect; then the encounter

[1] A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of March, 1950.

with the drunk beggar so elated and carefree in spite of his squalor and poverty ; then Augustine's moralizing reflexion on human happiness—so inconstant, so irrational, so unpredictable. It is a magnificent portrayal of his state of mind ; but I would gladly have had something more—the city, the court, the scene in the royal presence, the audience, the applause, the rhetoric, and the flatteries which he addressed to the youthful Valentinian II. But if it is uncritical to expect such a description in a religious study like the *Confessions*, it would at least have been interesting to have had Augustine's full account (for he gives only a casual reference) of the complex religious situation in Milan at this time. The orator had just ceased to be a member of the prohibited Manichaean sect ; the Emperor's mother was a fanatical Arian and was attempting to seize one of the Milanese churches for her co-religionists ; and the dominating force in the city was Bishop Ambrose, the champion of orthodoxy, who had been victorious in his long fight against paganism and was equally resolute in opposing the effrontery of the Arians. Augustine was in the midst of history, yet he ignores this wealth of material as irrelevant or accidental : in the *Confessions* he is the supreme introvert, and towards externals he appears supremely impassive.

The *Confessions* record his life down to the time when, after his baptism at Milan and after his mother's death at Ostia, he returned to Africa in 388 at the age of thirty-four. He had abandoned his academic career and had pledged himself to a life of study and meditation, and particularly to the study of the Scriptures and Christian doctrine. He settled first at his native Tagaste in company with a few friends who shared his desire for quietism. But his reputation as a scholar stood high in Africa ; and, as the Church needed such men, he was in 391 ordained presbyter at Hippo Regius, then in 395 consecrated coadjutor-bishop and soon afterwards sole Bishop of Hippo—an office which he held for thirty-five years till his death in 430, endlessly engaged in administering his See, in composing his theological works and in defending the orthodox faith against heresies. For a view of him in this period we must turn to the Epistles which, numbering 269 in all, show us much of his interests and activities from his conversion till the year before his death.

These Epistles are not genuine letters like Cicero's, not private correspondence revealing the personal details of his ordinary life. Augustine's Letters are mainly concerned with his public position as a Bishop and as a controversialist on behalf of the Christian cause. Compared with the Letters of his older contemporary Ambrose, their range is limited. Ambrose was constantly handling great affairs of state as well as matters of doctrine and Church policy, and the variety of his interests is seen in his correspondence. Augustine's interests are almost entirely ecclesiastical and theological: some of his letters are minor treatises on some matter of faith or interpretation: some are answers to the intellectual or spiritual problems of his friends and his clergy: some provide an informal commentary on his published work: some are letters of commendation on behalf of a friend travelling overseas: some, often couched in terms of elaborately pious compliment, convey greetings to eminent Churchmen: some issue a challenge to his theological opponents to meet him in a public debate and thresh out their differences. It is interesting to see how the letters reveal the development of the man. At first, soon after his conversion, he still has the air of the consciously academic *illuminatus:* he is, as it were, the philosophic and religious consultant to his group of friends. But as the Christian priesthood more and more absorbs him, there comes into his letters a grave and earnest purposefulness. He is resolved to devote himself on the one hand to the necessary and immediate duties concerned with administering his See, and on the other to the prosecution of his theological studies *ubi me arbitror . . . etiam posteris aliquid profuturum.* As he grows to the fulness of his stature, his influence begins to pervade the whole theological scene in North Africa and to spread across the Mediterranean. He exchanges letters with Jerome, that other great contemporary figure of the Latin Church. It is this compact body of correspondence between Augustine and Jerome that I propose to take as the field of this study: the study itself will deal with only the main incidents of the interchange.

If Ambrose was the statesman of the Latin Church, and Augustine the thinker and teacher, Jerome was unquestionably

the scholar. He had been educated at Rome under one of the greatest rhetoricians and grammarians of the fourth century, Aelius Donatus. As a young man he had travelled both in the Western and the Eastern parts of the Empire. At Antioch he had caught the prevalent passion for monasticism and, abandoning his study of profane literature, had devoted himself exclusively to perfecting his knowledge of Greek, to learning Hebrew, and to making available in Latin translations the best works of the Greek theological commentators. In 382 he had returned to Rome and had been commissioned by Pope Damasus to revise the text of the Latin Scriptures so as to provide the Western Church with an authentic and authoritative translation that would replace the interpolated and inaccurate versions then in use. Within two years he had produced at Rome a new version of the Gospels and of the Psalms, and was proceeding with the remaining parts of this vast undertaking when he decided to retire from Italy and return again to the East. He settled at Bethlehem, where he established a monastery over which he presided; and there he lived for the rest of his life, engaged on his many literary works and especially on his version of the Scriptures.

Jerome's new Latin version of the Gospels had been fairly well received in the West. While correcting errors, he had been careful to avoid any undue alteration of the wording, and this respect for the traditional and familiar phraseology had disarmed much criticism. It was different, however, when he came to deal with the Old Testament. At first he had based his translation not directly on the Hebrew, but on a purged version of the Greek Septuagint which Origen had prepared for his famous Hexapla edition. As a scrupulous scholar, Origen had everywhere marked with asterisks and obelisks the passages where comparison with the Hebrew had caused him to vary the received and traditional Septuagint text; and Jerome, in following Origen, adopted the same system of diacritical signs in his new Latin text. By some carelessness or some accident, the whole of this version with the exception of Job and the Psalms had been lost, and the undaunted translator had started on another rendering—this time not the translation of a translation, but a direct translation from the Hebrew into Latin, a method which

owing to the authority universally accorded to the Septuagint was bound to provoke criticism and objection—as he puts it himself in the Preface to the Pentateuch, *periculosum opus certe et obtrectatorum meorum latratibus patens, qui me asserunt in septuaginta interpretum sugillationem nova pro veteribus cudere.* But Jerome is certain that his new method is right. If the LXX version had remained as it left the hands of the original translators, his own work, he admits, would be unnecessary; but different traditions of the LXX text are prevalent and accepted in different provinces, and these traditions have been so vitiated by the copyists over a period of centuries, that there is no longer in the Septuagint that authenticity which, he is very willing to allow, it had at its first appearance. In the circumstances, there are two ways of proceeding—either to assemble the oldest possible copies of the various LXX traditions and by critical judgement, assisted by a knowledge of Hebrew, to make a composite text as the basis for a Latin version, or to go direct to the Hebrew sources and make a new translation. The first method he rejects as extremely difficult and expensive: the second he follows, knowing well what it will involve. And he was not mistaken. As the various Old Testament books appeared in their new Latin form, they were not, if we may judge by his prefaces, at first well received in the Western Church. The unavoidable changes in wording and in sense were too great for congregations which were conservatively attached to the older versions and had seldom the scholarship to examine and test the bases of Jerome's work. The introductions to each section of his translation are a spirited and often vehement assertion of his critical principles and methods in reply to the detractors who (he says) privately read his version and publicly defame it. He did not wish to supersede the older versions: he had not undertaken his new work in any spirit of superiority or contempt. *Obsecro te, lector, ne laborem meum reprehensionem existimes antiquorum: in templo Dei offert unusquisque quod potest.* His attackers are *latrantes canes qui adversum me rabido ore saeviunt:* they imagine themselves as learned, not from any positive contribution to scholarship, but because they can carp destructively. Why is it, he asks, that the sacred writings

are the only field of study in which scholarly methods are banned, and pious but ignorant men, *sancta rusticitas*, are at liberty to set up their own standards of interpretation? *Sola scripturarum ars est quam sibi passim omnes vindicant. 'scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.' hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi praesumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant.* (*Epist. ad Paulinum.*) The fact is that in no sphere is critical and methodical scholarship more needed, if Truth is to be guarded and taught. He appeals to fair-minded men to read his translation carefully before they criticize it: it is an honest and scrupulous attempt to render the just sense of the original documents: *mihi omnino conscius non sum, mutasse me quippiam de hebraica veritate.* In all cases of doubt he advises his readers to test his translation by consulting some local Jewish scholar whom they can trust to answer fairly. This had been his own practice. He tells us that in translating Job he had hired as his assistant a reputable Jewish teacher from Lydda. In preparing to translate Chronicles he had studied the antiquities of Judaea (II *Praef. in Paralipomenon*) under the guidance of the most capable Jewish experts and had personally inspected the topography and sites of all the places mentioned in the book; and in the actual translation he took as his assistant a Jewish doctor of the law from Tiberias and had conferred with him on every detail of the work, *contuli cum eo a vertice, ut aiunt, usque ad extremum unguem.* He gives (*Praef. in Tobiam*) a vivid account of his work on Tobias. This was especially troublesome as being written in the Chaldaean language, but in Hebrew characters: and though he had as a young man with great difficulty acquired some knowledge of Chaldaean, he thought it best to invite the collaboration of an interpreter. The interpreter orally translated the Chaldaean into Hebrew for Jerome, who simultaneously dictated a Latin version to a secretary: and the method was so successful that the translation of Tobias was completed in a day.

The writings of this formidable scholar even to-day make good reading, as I shall hope to show. His Latin style is vigorous, direct and lively. He is never dull. His utterance is witty, provocative and pungent. His command of vituperation is

unrivalled. In his critical method, in his genuine enthusiasm for knowledge and study, in his love of polemic, and in the amplitude and quality of the abuse which he could summon to the defence whether of truth or opinion, he seems a progenitor of the classical scholars of the Renaissance. His reputation was so great and his remoteness so complete that Augustine, despairing of ever meeting him, now tried to establish a friendly connexion by a regular exchange of letters. How the exchange developed into a difference, a dispute, almost a war, it is the purpose of this paper to show.

The correspondence began when in 394 or 395 Augustine wrote to Jerome a letter of commendation on behalf of his friend Profuturus who was proposing, in the course of a journey abroad, to visit the Holy Land and Bethlehem.[1] Augustine, though addressing Jerome in terms of the highest consideration and courtesy, feels that he may drop the strictly formal manner of such letters, as he can claim a considerable knowledge of Jerome both through his published writings and from the personal account which he had had from his life-long friend Alypius, recently back from a visit to the East. It will not be improper, therefore, to presume on this acquaintance so far as to exceed the limits of a mere letter of introduction and to discuss some of those religious problems which their common devotion to the Church had suggested. And first, he begs Jerome to continue with that series of translations into Latin which had given the West many works of the Greek commentators on Scripture and particularly of Origen, that most eminent scholar of the Eastern Church for whom Jerome had a profound admiration. Among the works thus translated was Origen's commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, to which, as it provides one of the reasons for the clash between the correspondents, we shall revert shortly.

Augustine seems to suggest that, to his mind and the mind of many of his friends, Jerome would be adding more to the Christian education of the West by producing this kind of

[1] Aug., Ep. xxviii. (ed. Al. Goldbacher, C.S.E.L., 1904. As Jerome's replies to Augustine are included in this edition, it will be convenient to refer to them there.)

commentary than by his present project of translating the Old Testament into Latin from Hebrew sources. If he is resolved, however, to revise the Latin Old Testament, Augustine believes that the earlier method he had used in Job was better—to work from the Greek version of the Septuagint, correcting it against the Semitic original, but using a system of diacritical signs to denote every point where the LXX required to be altered by the addition of genuine matter or the omission of corruptions. The readers of the new Latin version would thus be enabled to see at once how much was attested by the venerable authority of the Septuagint and what parts must be taken on trust from the translator alone. For to Augustine, as to most students of Scripture in his age, the Septuagint seemed to be invested with an almost inviolate sanctity. He regarded any tampering with its text as tampering with the text used and approved by the first Apostles and the early Church. Besides, in whichever language, it was part of the common Scripture of the Catholic Church, a bond between East and West, a force for unity, a court of appeal in all disputed questions, and incontestable evidence for refuting heresy or establishing doctrine. Augustine accords it to a *gravissima auctoritas :* and again, he says *praeminentem auctoritatem sine controversia tribuendam existimo.* He sees danger in any action which might tend to diminish or invalidate this authority. As a ruler, teacher, and writer in the Church's service, he must defend her tenets and laws by appealing to the fundamental and unshakable Word ; and he fears that Jerome's new critical scholarship, by eliminating the LXX and returning to older but far less accessible sources, is weakening the accepted basis on which dogma and discipline have long been acknowledged to rest. For how can one test the accuracy of a Latin version made from the Hebrew ? The Hebrew documents are almost unprocurable ; and even if procurable, to how few in the West would they be intelligible ?—but a Latin version made from a Greek source could be readily tested, as Greek was widely understood in the Western Church ; and indeed Jerome's translation of the Gospels had been approved by just such a test, comparison with the Greek having in Augustine's own experience justified nearly all the changes.

The new Latin version is supported, therefore, only by the authority of Jerome himself. But other questions arise in Augustine's mind. Why the many discrepancies, alleged by Jerome, between the Hebrew manuscripts and the Septuagint? Is it not strange that these discrepancies escaped the notice of the Seventy translators and of the other competent translators who came later? And supposing the Seventy did leave these discrepancies, it might surely have been expected that the three subsequent translators, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, all said to be good Hebrew scholars, would each in his separate version have noticed and corrected them. But it is far otherwise. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion show many variations of interpretation among themselves, and leave many difficulties unsettled. Can it be believed, then, that with Jerome we have at last reached finality and authority? Augustine tries to put the problem in what he conceives to be its simplest form. The passages in dispute were either obscure or not obscure: if obscure, Jerome is as likely to have been mistaken as were the others: if not obscure, who could credit that the Seventy missed the plain sense? In either case, the presumption is that Jerome is wasting his labour: in difficulties he is only propounding another explanation with no guarantee of its truth, and in the easy parts he can only be repeating what had been adequately done already. With this weighty argument for conservative scholarship and the avoidance of radical investigation, Augustine passes on to a quite different problem.

This second issue is less a matter of scholarship than of interpretation, and here Augustine walks on firmer ground; but again a question of authority is involved. I do not wish to enter into an exposition of their doctrinal differences. I am interested in the men and their way of thought and the clash between their temperaments and attitudes—not in making a precise estimate of their orthodoxy. But it may be worth while to set out the kind of problem about which two eminent Churchmen differed and fought at the end of the fourth century: so I shall try to disentangle the dispute from the mass of quotation and argument in which it is wrapped, and to give the nucleus in plain and objective terms.

It concerns the early part of the Epistle to the Galatians where St. Paul is explaining with much passionate vigour (and a corresponding lack of syntax) how he came to be called as the Apostle to the Gentiles and how he taught that salvation for the Gentiles is solely by faith in the Gospel and quite independent of the Mosaic Law. The primitive Church of the first century consisted broadly of two sections : the one, centred in Jerusalem, comprised the Jewish Christians, who continued to keep the observance of the old Law, not as an essential in their new faith, but rather as an inherited national tradition ; and the other was formed of the growing number of Gentile Christians spread over Syria, Asia Minor and Greece for whom the Law meant nothing. Was the Law to be made generally compulsory for all converts ? That was one of the problems which statesmanship in the Church had to solve soon. The Jewish Christians were naturally disposed to favour the Law ; but through the influence of Paul, it would seem that Peter adopted a more realistic and liberal policy, though he did not carry with him the more extreme members of his party. At any rate, we are told by Paul in the second chapter of Galatians that Peter, paying a visit to the Gentile Christians at Antioch, at first comported himself with a genial absence of fuss, living with his Gentile brethren and eating with them regardless of the Law—until the arrival of an agent or agents from the Judaising party at Jerusalem, whereupon Peter " withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the Law ". " Dissimulation " Paul calls it, implying (at least, to Jerome's mind) that Peter was still a liberal at heart and that this sudden return to strictness was an expedient to placate the legalists. Paul reproached him : " But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, ' If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews ? ' " The interpretation of this incident is the second point in the dispute between Augustine and Jerome.

In his commentary on Galatians, Jerome, following Origen, had fastened on the apparent inconsistency of Paul in thus criticizing Peter for an accommodating attitude towards the

Jewish Christians, an attitude which Paul himself had more than once adopted in difficult circumstances towards the same people. To the Jews he had been a Jew and to the Greeks a Greek. Could Holy Scripture, Jerome seems to ask, have really meant to present Paul in so illogical a position? So he seeks another explanation for these occasional changes of front, equally applicable to both Paul and Peter: and he finds it in the theory that they had acted on a concession always allowed to leaders who in moments of crisis must consider the greater good of their organization—what Jerome calls the concession of the *honesta dispensatio*, "the honourable exercise of a wise discretion", "an expedient flexibility to meet an emergency". Peter may thus be regarded as being conciliatory to the Jews in order to maintain his authority with them, Paul as attacking Peter's defection in order to maintain his influence with the Greeks. They understood each other perfectly. But both were working for the greater good of the young Church—to save it from breaking into two openly antagonistic factions.

To Augustine this explanation is execrable: he condemns it as permitting moral obliquity in sacred things. *Honesta dissimulatio*, indeed! He gives it the more downright name of *officiosum mendacium*, "the use of falsehood in the interest of religion". Will Jerome really defend such a view—that the sacred books contain a falsehood, that a lie may be regarded as sanctioned by Holy Writ, that a writer of Scripture both said at the time and later put it on record that Peter was doing wrong, while privately he believed that Peter was doing right? Once admit this as a principle allowed in the Bible, and there is no end to the possibilities of perverse and mischievous interpretation. For example, says Augustine, we read in the New Testament that Paul approved of marriage: but there exists in the Church a body of extreme ascetics who reject marriage and advocate celibacy and who find this approval inconvenient. What a boon to them if they can now argue, "Oh! but Paul was really in favour of celibacy: he was celibate himself: his approval of marriage was obviously an *officiosum mendacium*, a piece of diplomatic finesse for the major good—to avoid alienating influential husbands among his converts". By the same principle even the very

praises of the Lord in the Scripture might be interpreted not as genuine worship but as a subtle expedient on the part of enthusiastic believers to kindle the love of God in hearts more phlegmatic. Thus the authority of Scripture will soon be destroyed : for when you quote a weighty passage against a sinner or heretic, he will argue that your passage has no validity, as the writer was uttering a falsehood from an honourable sense of duty ; and there will be opened an illimitable scope for the subjective interpretation of inconvenient truths in the Bible. Augustine therefore insists that Paul gave a true and literal account of what Peter did and what he said ; and he calls on Jerome for a retraction. By a classical parallel he reminds him of the Greek poet Stesichorus who was smitten with blindness after publishing a libel on Helen, and had his eyesight miraculously restored when he wrote a παλινῳδία, a recantation. He would not call Jerome spiritually blind, but a palinode will at least prove that his eyes are open to the disastrous results that will follow from his theory of the *officiosum mendacium*.

This letter was despatched in the care of Profuturus in 394 or 395. But Profuturus did not complete his journey : he was ordained to a Bishopric in Africa, and died soon afterwards. What became of the original letter we do not know. Augustine himself gives no information. There must have been some gross carelessness ; for it never reached Jerome, and yet within a few years copies of it, unknown to Augustine, were circulating in Rome and Italy. In 397, presuming the first letter to be lost, Augustine sent another in much the same strain.[1] There was no reply to this either. Five years later, in 402, Augustine hears of a rumour, current in Italy, that he had written a book (a book, not a letter) against Jerome. He writes at once to Jerome to deny the report : " I am told that some brethren have represented to your Charity that I have written a book against you and have sent it to Rome. Please be assured that this is false : before God, I have not done so." [2] The assurance was timely and necessary, because Jerome was at that moment engaged in a bitter controversy with his former friend Rufinus on the subject of Origen, part of whose teaching had recently been

[1] Ep. xl. [2] Ep. lxvii.

denounced as heterodox by Pope Anastasius and towards whose memory Jerome was now as vehemently unsparing as he had formerly been devoted. The cannonade of vituperation and argument which these eminent scholars now directed against each other had aroused intense interest throughout Italy; and the last thing Augustine could desire was to be reported as intervening against Jerome in an unbrotherly wrangle which in a later epistle (not perhaps without a little saintly malice) he gravely deplores.[1] His letter of denial at last evokes an answer.[2] For a man so irascible, Jerome replies with comparative mildness. He accepts Augustine's assurance about the book. There is, however, the question of a letter addressed to him, the original of which had never reached Bethlehem, but only an unsigned copy. It may not be Augustine's though the internal evidence of the style and the reasoning points to him as the author. Jerome has therefore delayed answering the matters raised in it, until assured of its authenticity. Another reason for the delay has been the serious illness of his convert, the devout and venerable lady Paula: during the long periods of watching by her bedside, he had almost forgotten such an irrelevancy as the letter—bearing in mind the verse of Scripture, "Like music in the time of mourning is an unseasonable discourse".[3] In any case, he has no desire to attack other men's opinions: he is only concerned to defend his own. The pity is that ambitious young men *will* attack their illustrious seniors as a short cut to glory. But he will not be drawn into a fight. He is an old man. He has had his day. He has earned his repose. He now prefers to sit back and watch the younger contestants. Still, he will not allow Augustine, with his remarks about Stesichorus, to have a monopoly of quoting the poets: so he takes the liberty to remind him of the boxing-match in the Fifth Book of the *Aeneid*, where the veteran Entellus returns for once to the ring and delivers a knock-out blow to the young champion Dares. And let him also remember the common proverb, "The veteran ox it is that steps with surest tread".

Jerome despatched this letter in 402. But before it arrived, Augustine in despair of eliciting a response had composed a third

[1] Ep. lxxiii. [2] Ep. lxviii. [3] *Ecclesiasticus*, xxii. 6.

letter (403) and given it, along with copies of his first two letters, to a deacon named Cyprian, who was going on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.[1] There is nothing new in it. He merely amplifies the reasons for his uneasiness about the new translation of the Old Testament direct from the Hebrew; and, of course, he again begs Jerome to send a full reply "and thus give me, as far as is in your power, the pleasure of your presence". At last in 404 a reply comes from the pestered and irritated Saint.[2] It is so characteristic that I have translated (or paraphrased) parts of it: a man like Jerome is still irrepressible.

"You are sending me letter upon letter and repeatedly urging me to answer a certain letter of yours which, as I told you before, reached me only in the form of an unsigned copy. You say you twice sent me this letter by two separate messengers, who for various reasons did not complete the journey. That being so, I am very much surprised to find that this very letter is stated to be common-property in Italy and at Rome—whereas I, the one person to whom it was addressed, am the one person it has never reached. And I am all the more surprised, because my informant says that he came upon it, included with your other published works, not in Africa, not at Hippo, but in a monastery on an Adriatic island some five years ago.

"Genuine friendship cannot co-exist with suspicion: a man must speak with his friend as if with his other self. Some of my acquaintances here . . . have been suggesting to me that your motives in connexion with this letter have been disingenuous, that you have been seeking praise, celebrity, and popular reputation, hoping for self-aggrandizement at my expense, hoping to make the world think that you issued a challenge, but I was afraid to take it up; that you, the trained scholar, are a man of letters, before whom I, the ignoramus, am stricken dumb—having at length found an opponent able to quell my volubility! But in actual fact and speaking frankly, I decided not to send an immediate reply to your Excellency, because I was not absolutely convinced that the letter or (to use an expression sometimes applied in such cases) the honeyed sword, the knife concealed in honey-sweet flatteries, was really yours: and secondly, I

[1] Ep. lxxi. [2] Ep. lxxii.

was anxious to avoid the appearance of sending to a bishop of my own Church a provocative answer, criticizing various points in my critic's letter, particularly as I judged parts of it to be tainted with heresy ; and lastly, I forebore to write, because I could not endure the thought of your just reproaches, if I had accused you in the wrong.

" Wherefore, as I said to you before, either send me the letter in question, subscribed with your own hand ; or cease this challenging of an old man who in the obscurity of his cell shuns publicity. If you wish to display or to exercise your learning, seek opponents of your own age, young men eloquent and distinguished, of whom I am told there are plenty at Rome, strong enough and bold enough to face you, and of just the weight and size to meet a bishop in a debate on Holy Scripture. As for me, a soldier once, now a veteran—it is my place to applaud your victories and other men's victories, not with my worn body to go on active service again. I hesitate to quote a certain famous parallel from Roman history—but, if you continue pressing me to reply, I may perhaps recall how the sheer staying power of old Quintus Fabius Maximus wore down and broke young Hannibal's arrogant confidence in victory." He adds a series of dry shrewd questions about the supposed loss of the letter, promises to consider a reply when he knows whom to answer, and indicates that though he has only a slight acquaintance with a very few of Augustine's works he could find in them some things *quae a recti linea discrepare videantur*. He then concludes : " Farewell, my dear friend, my son in years, my father in ecclesiastical rank ; and do me the favour of remembering one rule—to arrange that whatever you write me in future should reach me first ".

The preliminaries of the dispute are now over. Augustine had issued, and repeated, his challenge. The old warrior in Bethlehem would prefer not to fight, partly because he has battles enough on his hands, partly because he will not gratify a seemingly ambitious young man who is measuring himself against a senior ; and, besides, he will be wasting his effort if he strikes precipitately at the wrong person. So he growls from his cave with a kind of grim imperturbability in which, however,

there is a tone of warning and menace. Augustine on his side is relentlessly conciliatory but determined. He believes his criticisms to have been well-founded and honest: he had no ulterior motives, no wish for mere victory or importance: his sole aim is knowledge. So he deprecates the suspicion that he is attacking a great man in order to win a quick notoriety. Why should it be thought impossible for two men of the same faith to discuss questions of doctrine without animus and distrust? The ideal he seeks is the communion of minds in the passionless atmosphere of the intellect, from which the irrelevancies of human emotion and vanity are excluded and where the mind's energy is entirely directed towards finding Truth. It was vain to hope for this in a discussion with Jerome.

In 404 Augustine writes a reply [1] to Jerome's first letter. Again there is much conciliation, and here and there a sharpening of tone. He apologizes for the mistake about the letter. "I confess my fault as having been the first to offend by writing that letter which I cannot deny to be mine. Why should I try to swim against the stream and not rather ask pardon? I therefore entreat you by the mercy of Christ to forgive me if I injured you." As a sign of his penitence he takes up Jerome's reference to the veteran ox and works it out in a long analogy of the ox treading out the corn on the threshing-floor: "Since you are, by your own description, a veteran ox, worn out perhaps in body by reason of age, but unimpaired in vigour of mind, and still toiling strenuously and with profit in the Lord's threshing-floor: lo! here I am, as corn for threshing; if I have spoken amiss, plant your foot firmly upon me: the heavy weight of your venerable age must prove salutary, if the chaff of my error is pounded and separated from me".

Once satisfied that Augustine had written the offending letter, Jerome wasted no time. His reply [2] was already on its way in 404. It is a vigorous and sometimes angry piece of polemical argument, dictated extempore, he explains, and therefore perhaps lacking in method, but showing clearly in attack and defence that the author was an artful and experienced fighter. I do not propose, either in this letter or in Augustine's final answer, to do more than

[1] Ep. lxxiii. [2] Ep. lxxv.

indicate the main themes: the theological details would now only obscure the issue and dim the picture of the two men which to me is much more interesting.

Jerome quickly comes to the Commentary on Galatians, which he maintains to have been not an original work, but, in the accepted literary convention, a compilation of the material he had collected from extensive reading in Origen and other Greek commentators, the whole hastily put together with occasional additions of his own and published in Latin for the information of the Latin Church. Augustine, he says, might have known this if he had read the preface, and might have hesitated to blame Jerome for statements which had been advanced, again in the literary convention of the times, only as possible and alternative explanations of difficult passages. Certainly the idea of the *honesta dispensatio* came from Origen: but it had been accepted by all the later Greek writers, and in such good company Jerome had no doubts about accepting it too; but he would be prepared to accept a better theory, if Augustine can produce it.

Was Paul inconsistent in rebuking Peter for dissimulation? To prove this, it was necessary to examine Paul's history from his conversion onwards; and this he proceeds to do in the manner of an examining counsel—reading out incident after incident from Scripture, questioning an imaginary Paul about them, evoking the required answers, apostrophizing him with ironical surprise, suggesting motives, all intended to show that in relation to the Jewish Law Paul had so often practised the very dissimulation for which he blamed Peter, that no theory but Origen's offered any intelligible solution. But Augustine had denied that in this occasional conforming to Jewish Law Paul was dissimulating: according to Augustine, he was only making a kindly gesture to the Jewish Christians whom he would allow to practise their traditional ritual, provided no one mistook it for an essential to salvation. Jerome here professes to detect in Augustine a lapse towards heresy. O shame! to tolerate the existence of the Law side by side with the Gospel—the old heresy of the Ebionites, the recent heresy of the Nazarenes! . . . "I therefore beseech you, who imagine yourself called upon to heal my slight wound which is not more than a prick or scratch from a

needle, to use your medical skill in healing this gaping wound of heresy in yourself, this deep wound which looks as though made by the thrust of a lance or a heavy pike. For there is surely no comparison, no proportion, between my guilt who only set out the various opinions held by the Fathers on a disputed passage, and your guilt who re-introduce into the Church a most pestilential heresy."

But he makes his most spectacular stroke in replying to the criticism of his translation from the Hebrew. Augustine had said, " The disputed passages of which the Seventy have given an interpretation were either obscure or not obscure ; if obscure, you are as likely to have been mistaken as the others ; if not obscure, the Seventy could not possibly be mistaken ". Jerome now applies what he calls " this novel syllogism " to Augustine's own exposition of the Psalms, naming nine eminent commentators whose work had dealt with the entire book of Psalms and must therefore have included all passages, both the obscure and the not obscure. How was it that in some of his explanations Augustine differed from them ? In obscurities is he not as likely to be mistaken as the others ? In plain passages is it credible that these competent nine could have been mistaken ? It would seem that Augustine had been losing his labour ; and indeed by applying this principle we would reach a general paralysis of all effort, a perpetual stasis in which no one would ever speak or write of any subject which had ever been treated before !

There remains now only one major point to be answered—the principles on which Jerome is making his translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. Here the scholar in Jerome speaks with a certain intolerance of the critic who has no conception of what the work means. Of course there are no diacritical signs in the new version : these appeared in the earlier version only because they were carried over from Origen's critical text of the LXX which he was then following ; but now in translating from the Hebrew he is not trying to give verbal equivalents but to render the sense. " As to the principles that should be followed in translating the Scriptures, they are set out in my treatise ' The Best Mode of Translating ' [1] and in the introductions to the

[1] Hieron., Ep. lvii (ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi).

various parts of my new version, and I feel it is enough to refer the thoughtful reader to them. If, as you state, my revised version of the New Testament has your approval and support as having been critically examined by many readers with a knowledge of Greek, you ought to have credited me with the same scrupulous honesty in dealing with the Old Testament; for I have not concocted a fictitious version from my own imagination: I have translated the sacred words in the exact sense I found them to have among speakers of Hebrew: if you query anything, test it by asking the Jews."

The last letter I shall touch on is Augustine's reply, written in 405—a very long, closely reasoned statement of his views.[1] There is little rhetoric or dialectical finesse; the issue is too serious for that. One feels that a great mind has drawn together all its powers and is putting forth all its strength, with a grave courteous friendliness which, however, never relaxes the stern force of the logical argument. He apologizes for the letter that had gone astray. He admits that his reference to Stesichorus had been made *ineptius quam litteratius.* He deprecates Jerome's perhaps excessive sensitiveness about his episcopal rank and invites his criticism, for *in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est.* But, still, he must claim a certain independence of judgement in discussions even with such an eminent scholar as Jerome: he cannot surrender his right to use frankness of speech in an honest argument: otherwise, he would merely be submitting to authority—and that is a deference he reserves for the Canonical Scriptures alone: "for I most firmly believe that the authors of these were in every respect free from error; and, if ever in these writings I shall find anything which seems contrary to truth, I shall not question but that the manuscript is faulty or that the translator has missed the true sense or that I myself have completely misunderstood. In reading other books I go on the principle that, no matter how pre-eminent in holiness or in doctrine the writers may be, I do not accept a thing as true because they thought it to be true but only because on the evidence of Scripture or by logical argument they have brought home to me an opinion not discordant with truth." In this

[1] Ep. lxxxii.

confession of his criteria we come to the root of the matter. Granting an absolute authority to the Canonical Scriptures, he is bound to resist any theory or interpretation suggesting the possibility of a false statement in them. To him, Jerome's interpretation of Galatians seems to threaten their unquestionable and universal truth; and, though he does not say so explicitly, this is doubtless the reason why he hesitates to accept Jerome's new translation from the Hebrew; for this version rests on one man's authority; but the Septuagint, produced (as he believes) by a divinely guided concord and later approved by the Apostles, he venerates as *sanctam scripturam in summo et caelesti auctoritatis culmine collocatam.* There can be no question but that this was his view of the Septuagint, for long afterwards he reverts to the subject in the *City of God* (xviii, 42-44) and restates his belief with a finality that is no palinode.

ABŪ'L-ḤASAN AL-ṢŪRĪ'S DISCOURSE ON THE RULES OF LEPROSY IN THE KITĀB AL-ṬABBĀKH, RYLANDS SAMARITAN CODEX IX

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THERE is a fundamental difference in the conception of the Biblical requirements for Levitical purity between Rabbinic Judaism and the Jewish Sects. According to the Rabbis, Levitical purity is demanded only as a condition for entering the Sanctuary or for handling consecrated objects. In essence an Israelite would be permitted to defile himself by contacting unclean things, and except in the case of the dead (Lev. xxi. 1) even a priest would be allowed to do so.[1] According to most sectarians, however, including Samaritans and Karaites, Levitical purity is an absolute requirement and any kind of defilement is a transgression in itself.[2] For this reason Rabbinical codes intended as a practical guide for the Jews in the Diaspora, in contrast to sectarian codes, do not contain the rules for Levitical purity at all. This applies, in particular, to the case of leprosy which, apart from falling under the heading of Levitical purity, requires for its diagnosis a priest of the sons of Aaron, according to Lev. xiii. 2, although both Jews and Karaites agree that the priests of post-Talmudical times are not of traceable descent and that therefore the rules of leprosy find no application in practice.[3]

The Samaritans alone are outstanding among Jewish sects in their claim to the knowledge of the exact genealogy of their priests [4] and in giving practical application to their rules

[1] See *Sifra, ad loc.*

[2] Cp. the writer's, *Saadya Gaon's Arabic Version of the Pentateuch*, in *Saadya Studies* (Manchester, 1943), pp. 235 f.

[3] Cp. L. Ginzberg, *Geniza Studies*, vol. i, pp. 71 f ; vol. ii, pp. 429 f.

[4] See M. Gaster, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1909 ; J. Ben-Zwi, *Sefer Ha-Shomronim*, p. 255.

of leprosy.[1] This gives to the comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan rules of leprosy a special interest. The great Samaritan authority Abū'l-Ḥasan Al-Ṣūrī[2] in his *Kitāb Al-Ṭabbākh* has a detailed and elaborate discourse on the rules of leprosy,[3] of which a short summary regarding the definition and regulations of the three types of plague, Rising, Bright Spot and Scab, mentioned in Lev. xiii. 1-17 must suffice here :—

(1) *Rising* is a boil which rises above the level of the surrounding area of flesh. It has three tokens of uncleanness : bright whiteness, quick raw flesh—which means that within the whiteness there are spots of the colour of the adjoining part of the body—and white hair.

(2) *Bright Spot* is a depression below the level of the surrounding area of the flesh. It has three tokens of uncleanness : deepness, bright whiteness and white hair.

(3) *Scab* is a boil within an excoriation. If it has no white hair it requires 7 days' segregation. If after 7 days no change is noticeable, the person so afflicted is declared clean after another 7 days' observation. If, however, after this period either white hairs appear or an extension or contraction is noticeable, the person is declared unclean.

Abū'l-Ḥasan adds further a method of diagnosis for which he does not claim Scriptural basis. If by squeezing the boil blood flows into it, the person is clean. If, however, the blood accumulates around the boil the person is unclean. The explanation being that leprosy is caused by phlegm and black bile combining into a boil which prevents the circulation of the blood and therefore of heat in that spot. If, however, it is noticed that, on squeezing, blood flows through the boil, it is a sign of the existence of normal body heat and health.

In contradistinction to Abū'l-Ḥasan, who identifies Biblical leprosy with various types of ulcerous boils, the Rabbis see in

[1] Cp. Ben-Zwi, *loc cit.*, p. 156.

[2] On the time of this author cp. the present writer's *Abū'l-Ḥasan Al-Ṣūrī*, etc., BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, October, 1946.

[3] A detailed description of the MS. of this work is given by Professor Edward Robertson, " Catalogue of the Samaritan MSS. in the John Rylands Library," pp. 110 *seq.*, 1938.

leprosy a variety of eczema. In their definition of the relevant terms they refer solely to colour: bright spot is the whiteness of snow, rising is the whiteness of white wool, whereas the word *sapaḥat*, which is usually translated by scab, they derive from the root *spḥ*, to attach, meaning " secondary ", i.e. secondary in colour to either bright spot, when it is the colour of lime, or to rising, when it is white like the membrane surrounding the white of an egg.[1]

These fundamental differences between the Jews and Samaritans concerning the rules of leprosy, as well as others, which will be mentioned later, all seem to have originated in a single variant between the reading of the MT and the Sam. Pentateuch.

The central problem is the principle underlying the arrangement in Lev. xiii. 1-17, which deals with the rules of the leprosy of the skin. The section is introduced by vv. 1-2, which state that three types of plague of the skin have to be shown to the priest. They are mentioned in the following order: (1) Rising (2) Scab and (3) Bright Spot. V. 3 follows this up and, without specifying to which of the three plagues it refers, gives two symptoms which confirm uncleanness, viz. that the hair in the plague is turned white and that the plague in sight is deeper than the skin. Vv. 4-6, which deal with the alternative case where the aforementioned two symptoms are not present, refer specifically to the Bright Spot. They order the person thus afflicted to be segregated first for seven days, and, if the plague has by then neither changed in appearance nor increased in size, to be segregated for a further seven days. If it is found then that the plague has darkened in appearance, it has proved to be a Scab and the person is pronounced clean. Vv. 7-8 continue by stating that if the Scab should increase in size after the person has been pronounced clean, it is a symptom of leprosy and the person is declared unclean. V. 9 is again introductory and is similar to v. 2 in ordering the person afflicted with a plague to come before the priest. It reads: " When a plague of leprosy shall be in a man, then he shall be brought unto the priest ". Vv. 10-11 refer to the ' Rising ' and state that if it be

[1] Cp. *Neg.* i. 1.

white " and it should have turned the hair white, and (ו, which can also mean ' or ') there be quick raw flesh " in it, it is an old leprosy and the person shall be pronounced unclean. Vv. 12-13 state that if the leprosy should come to a head and cover " all the skin of the plague (stricken) from his head to his foot ", he shall be pronounced clean of leprosy. Vv. 14-17 state that if the quick raw flesh appears again he shall be unclean, but if it changes again to white he shall be pronounced clean again.

At first sight it seems that vv. 3-17 discuss the three types of plague mentioned in the introductory vv. 1-2 in a reversed order ; vv. 10-17 referring to the Rising, vv. 7-8 to the Scab and vv. 4-6 to the Bright Spot. As to v. 3, it could be considered as an alternative case to that dealt with in vv. 4-6, referring similarly to the Bright Spot although this is not expressly mentioned. According to this interpretation, we would have to assume that the symptoms of uncleanness mentioned in connexion with each individual plague refer to that plague alone : white hair to the Bright Spot, spreading to the Scab, and white hair combined with quick flesh to the Rising.

The major difficulty in this interpretation is that v. 9 is introductory, separating vv. 10-17 from the preceding verses. It was apparently for this reason that the Rabbis refused to see in vv. 3-17 a division according to the three types of plague mentioned in vv. 1-2. According to them,[1] v. 3, which does not mention any particular type of plague, refers to all three kinds of plague mentioned in v. 2 without distinction. Since, however, vv. 4-6 deal with the alternative case to that of v. 3 and refer expressly to the Bright Spot, the question remained as to why the ruling for such case was omitted in connexion with the remaining two types of plague. This led the Rabbis to the conclusion that the arrangement in vv. 3-17 is according to the three symptoms of uncleanness : white hair, vv. 3-6 ; spreading, vv. 7-8 ; quick raw flesh, vv. 10-17. The three symptoms have equal bearing on all the three types of plague ; each of them, however, is mentioned in connexion with the type in which its presence is more common. Similarly, vv. 4-6 mention particularly the

[1] The view of the Rabbis as to the interpretation of Lev. xiii. 1-17 is found in *Sifra, ad loc.*

Bright Spot, because the absence of all three symptoms is more common in that type of plague. As a result of this interpretation the Rabbis had to take the symptoms of white hair and quick raw flesh in v. 10 as two alternatives, for according to v. 3 white hair alone is a conclusive symptom in all three types of plague.

A further consequence of the Rabbis' view concerns the interpretation of the phrase " all the skin of the plague " in vv. 12-13. Taking these words to refer solely to the case mentioned explicitly in vv. 10-11, where the man was pronounced unclean on account of a Rising which had in it quick raw flesh, they could be explained literally to mean that if subsequently the whole of the rising turned white, whereby the symptoms of the quick flesh disappeared, he is clean. The Rabbis, however, who maintained that vv. 10-11, and consequently vv. 12-13, refer to all three types of plague, could not take these words literally, since a bright spot, e.g. although entirely white, requires segregation according to vv. 4-6. They, therefore, had to interpret the words " all the skin of the plague " to mean " all the skin of *him that has* the plague " ; i.e. that although a single white spot in the skin was a symptom of uncleanness, if it spread over the whole body it becomes a token of cleanness.

But the most far-reaching consequences arose from the Rabbis' interpretation of the expressions " the appearance deeper than the skin " in vv. 3, 20, 25, 30, " the appearance not deeper than the skin " in vv. 4, 21, 26, 31, 32, 34, " the rising " in vv. 10, 43, which accompany the word ' white ' in dealing with the various types of plague. The simple explanation seems to be that we have in each case two distinct symptoms: the visible white, in which all types of plague participate equally, and the tangible, which depends on the nature of the sore, and differs thus in being deep, level, or rising according to the three types of plague. Once, however, we assume that the arrangement in vv. 3-17 is according to the various symptoms, and that each symptom applies equally to all types of plague, the existence of tangible symptoms is inadmissible, since it is clear that a rising, for instance, which is perceptible by touch cannot be thought to be in one case higher and in another deeper than the skin. The Rabbis, therefore, had to regard the expressions " deeper than the

skin", " not deeper than the skin ", and " rising " not as independent symptoms but as merely defining the symptom ' white ' in its various shades. The optical appearance of the plague being deeper or higher in relation to the normal colour of the skin according to the brighter or duller shade of whiteness.

To summarize : Influenced by the M.T., where v. 9 forms a new introduction, the Rabbis held that vv. 3-17 are arranged according to the three symptoms and not according to the types of plague mentioned in vv. 1-2. These symptoms apply to all plagues without distinction. The basic symptom is whiteness in some of its shades. This alone, however, requires only segregation for observation, while uncleanness is definitely pronounced only after the additional appearance of one of the following three symptoms, white hair, quick raw flesh and spreading. The person thus declared unclean resumes the state of cleanness again with disappearance of all the above symptoms or with the spreading of the whiteness over the whole body.

The Samaritan approach to the problem is already indicated by the sequence in which Abū'l-Ḥasan discusses the various plagues, which follows the order in which they are mentioned in Lev. xiii. 2. This suggests that he considers vv. 3-17 as commenting on v. 2. The difficulty that v. 9 is a new introduction did not present itself to the Samaritans in the same way as it did to the Rabbis since the Sam. Pent. varies from the M.T. and begins v. 9 with the conjunctive *vav*. This turns the verse from a complete and independent sentence into the protasis of a conditional sentence which is connected with v. 2 and which has its apodosis in v. 10. The verse has to be translated " If a plague of leprosy was in a man and he had been brought to the priest," etc.

The verses are divided strictly according to the three types of plague, each with its specific symptoms and rules. Verse 3 deals with the Bright Spot. Its tangible symptom is depth and to declare it unclean the addition of two other symptoms is required, bright white colour and white hair. Vv. 4-8 deal with the Scab. This consists of the white sore formed in an excoriation and requires segregation for the purpose of observation. It is adjudged unclean by the addition of the two

symptoms, whiteness combined with either change of size of the plague or with white hair. Vv. 9-17 treat of the Rising. Its tangible symptom is elevation and to declare it unclean the addition of three other symptoms is required: white hair, bright whiteness, and spots of the colour of the adjoining part of the body within the whiteness. If these spots, however, turn bright white the person concerned is declared clean.

HAND-LIST OF THE CRUTCHLEY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

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KEEPER OF MANUSCRIPTS AND ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

THE documents listed below relate to the Coke family and estates which came into its possession mainly during the lifetime of one of its most celebrated members, Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (d. 1634); the properties concerned lie for the most part in Derbyshire, Lancashire and Suffolk and the period covered ranges from the twelfth century to the nineteenth. The bulk of the collection was deposited in the Library by Lady Crutchley, formerly of Longford Hall, Derbyshire, a descendant of Thomas William, earl of Leicester (d. 1842), the famous "Mr. Coke of Holkham". A number of supplementary deeds was subsequently added by Mr. Gerald E. V. Crutchley and these, which include items of considerable interest by reason of their early date and rare seals, have been appended[1] to the list of the original deposit.

Derbyshire documents, some five hundred in number, comprise rather more than half the collection. The majority concern Longford and its descent for seven hundred years through the families of Longford (from about 1200) and Coke. Included is the purchase deed[2] by which this property was acquired by Sir Edward Coke from the trustees of the last male owner, Nicholas Longford, and also the indenture[3] by which it was settled on his youngest surviving son Clement Coke, on the occasion of his marriage to Sarah, daughter of Alexander Reddish of Reddish, Lancashire, and great-niece of the above-mentioned Nicholas. By the same settlement Clement Coke also received from Sir Edward the manors of Wherstead, Bourn Hall and

[1] Below, nos. 923 seq.

[2] No. 294 (6th July, 1615). Cf. C. W. James, *Chief Justice Coke, His Family and Descendants in Holkham* (1929), pp. 121, 304, 306.

[3] No. 304.

Pannington and other Suffolk possessions, while through Sarah, a co-heir of her father, estates in south-east Lancashire, notably in Reddish, Great and Little Heaton and Crumpsall, came into the Coke family. All these properties are represented below—Longford (twelfth-nineteenth century), Wherstead (thirteenth-eighteenth century), Reddish (thirteenth-nineteenth century) and Heaton (thirteenth-seventeenth century) most fully —together with much material concerning their former owners ; for example, the families of Longford of Longford, Reddish of Reddish, Hulton, Langley, Prestwich, Browne (Marston Montgomery),[1] Radcliffe and Hall (Wherstead). Included are two finely emblazoned genealogical rolls of the Longford and Reddish families, drawn up in the seventeenth century.[2] Documents relating directly to Chief Justice Coke are unfortunately not numerous, although two occur which are in his own hand.[3] But, as indicated above, the major properties concerned were acquired as a result of his initiative and the whole collection forms an indispensable source of information regarding his descendants. Several of the earlier Derbyshire deeds, which include, apart from Longford itself, smaller groups concerning Boythorpe, Hollington, Mammerton, Newton Solney and many other places in the county, were consulted by Jeayes ;[4] but his descriptions, it should be added, are often imperfect. These items have accordingly been listed again below and, where possible, with more fullness. In addition, some sixty documents will be found which were omitted from his *Catalogue*,[5] although falling within its scope (i.e. dating from before 1550) ; of these, roughly one-third are of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Much material of value to the local historian is contained in the early Derbyshire, Lancashire and Suffolk documents. Among items of interest relating to these counties may be mentioned two

[1] See Yeatman, *The Feudal History of the County of Derby*, vol. iv, sect. vii, pp. 83-84.

[2] Nos. 921-922.

[3] Nos. 274, 296. For two letters addressed to him see nos. 818, 831. No. 307 is a copy of his will.

[4] I. H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of Derbyshire Charters* (1906). References to this work are given below under the relevant documents.

[5] The *Catalogue* contains seventy items from the Longford Hall collection.

charters of the family of Ferrières, earls of Derby,[1] a final concord of 1197,[2] a grant of free warren to Nigel de Longford (1252),[3] a number of deeds relating to the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul at Ipswich (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries),[4] a dispensation from Archbishop Cranmer to Henry Tofte of Darley Abbey to become a secular priest and be capable of a benefice (1538),[5] an address of loyalty to the King from the Grand Jury at Derby Assizes (1649),[6] various presentments to Longford, many wills and allied documents of the Coke family, and articles of agreement respecting the enclosure of Swinton Moor (1684).[7]

A wide range of documents is represented, although muniments of title predominate. Court records and allied materials are numerous. In particular may be cited the lengthy series of court rolls for the manors of Bourn Hall in Wherstead (thirteenth-eighteenth century) and Longford (fourteenth-seventeenth century). Other rolls are those for Haddon (fourteenth-fifteenth century), Newton Solney (fourteenth-sixteenth century), and Hathersage (sixteenth century), all in Derbyshire, and for Wherstead and Goddelsford (seventeenth-eighteenth century) in Suffolk. The earliest roll listed below is one of 1276 (Bourn Hall). In addition to court rolls, court books for Bourn Hall and Wherstead (1627-1640) and for various courts (1560-1571) of the Reddish family, held at Prestwich and Reddish, also occur. There are, too, fifteenth-century account rolls of the bailiffs and collectors of rents for Longford and North Wingfield, Derbyshire. Among rentals may be mentioned those for Barlborough, Hathersage, Longford and Newton Solney, all of 1476, with two later ones (eighteenth century) for Longford ; two for Bourn Hall (sixteenth century) and two, in early copies, for the Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul at Ipswich (sixteenth century) ; and a rental of Reddish, Crumpsall, Prestwich, Pendlebury and Tetlow (1590-1622), in Lancashire. Surveys of Derbyshire and Suffolk properties of the Coke family may also be found.

[1] Nos. 923, 942. See also 929. The abstracts of these three charters given in Yeatman, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159, contain a number of misreadings.
[2] Nos. 182, 925. [3] No. 928. [4] See under Wherstead.
[5] No. 63. [6] No. 70. [7] No. 739.

The collection should prove of interest to the sigillographer. Examples of the Great Seal occur from the reign of Henry III[1] onwards and there are perfect specimens of the Duchy of Lancaster seal (1577)[2] and of the rare Statute Merchant Recognizance Seal of Wigan (1391).[3] Unfortunately imperfect, although surviving in large fragments, are the seal (1337), with *secretum*, of Philip de Thame, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England,[4] and the common seal of Ipswich (1610).[5] Private seals of equestrian, heraldic or patterned design, are, as might be expected, most frequent and among these particular reference may be made to the fine equestrian seals, with counter-seals, attached to Nos. 923 and 942. Various Lancashire and Derbyshire families are represented by heraldic specimens, notably the Longfords; in this category attention is drawn to the seals of Sir William de Cantelowe and Maud his wife (1371),[6] William Fitzherbert of Norbury (1390),[7] Thomas la Warre (1405),[8] Sir William Thirning (1405),[9] and Sir Nicholas de Longford (1475).[10] Among seals with other designs three are outstanding: those of John de Saucheverel (1197),[11] Robert de Ferrières, "son and heir of William de Ferrières, formerly earl of Derby" (1262),[12] and Michael, son of Nigel de Bupton (late twelfth/early thirteenth century),[13] the last having a striking representation, on green wax, of Samson slaying the lion. An unusual seal, unfortunately imperfect, is that of Richard Swyfte, the King's carpenter (1393).[14]

The original spellings of place-names and surnames have been preserved in the descriptions below; cross-references to

[1] No. 928. [2] No. 660. [3] No. 599.

[4] No. 204. On the obverse is an upright shield of arms bearing, apparently: bendy, on a chief three pierced mullets. This charge is not mentioned in E. J. King's account of Philip's seal. He does, however, refer to the *secretum*, describing an example from B.M.Add. Ch. 26,605, where it is used as a counter-seal to the great seal of the Priory (see King, *The Seals of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, 1932, p. 108 and pl. xix, 5; also *Cat. of Seals in the B.M.*, iii, no. 4539). For other uncommon seals of Priors of the Order now in the Library see Taylor, *Ecclesiastical, Monastic and Local Seals* (*12th-17th century*) *from the Hatton Wood MSS. in the John Rylands Library*, pp. 15-19.

[5] Nos. 730-731. [6] No. 18. [7] No. 213. [8] No. 43.
[9] No. 44. [10] No. 931. [11] No. 925 (a phoenix).
[12] No. 929 (a bust). [13] No. 926. [14] No. 743.

the modern spellings in the case of place-names will be found in the Index.

ALKRINGTON, CO. LANC.

1. Memorandum of an agreement between Alice, lady of Prestwych' and Robert de Lythurst, procurator of *dominus* Richard de Par, respecting tithes of Alcrinton'. 15 Aug. 1325. 2 seals (1 missing).

2. Deed whereby Thomas, son of Adam de Prestwych' entails on John, son of Richard de Radeclyff, and Joan his wife and John, son of Agnes de Legh, and their respective rightful heirs and on the rightful heirs of John, son of Richard de Radeclyff, all his land in Alkrinton' save that which Jordan de Tettelowe holds of him. *Hiis testibus Rogero de Pylkynton', Ricardo filio Willelmi de Radeclyff, Willelmo filio Roberti de Radeclyff, Thurstano de Holand, Roberto capellano de Prestwych', et aliis.* n.d. [1334.] Seal.

3. Letter of attorney to Richard de Tounlay to deliver seisin of the same [4]. 20 Oct. 1334. Seal. (Fr.)

4. The same. 8 Dec. 1334. Seal, missing. (Fr.)

5. Quitclaim by Richard, son of William de Radeclif to John, son of Richard de Radeclif of all his right, etc. in all messuages, lands and tenements in Alghryngton. 5 Oct. 1338. Seal.

6. Gift by Richard, son of John de Radeclif, to Henry, son of Roger the chaplain, of all his lands and tenements in Alcrinton'. 13 Nov. 1362. Seal.

7. Writ to Robert de Holand touching an action of Roger de Longlegh' against him. Signed: William de Legh, Richard le Massy of Sale. *Le darreyme iour de februar'* [no year: *c.* 1390]. 2 seals (1 missing, 1 fragm.). (Fr.)

8. Lease for 24 years by Robert de Longelegh' to Richard de Smetheley of a third part of all his lands and tenements in Alghrynton; rent, a red rose yearly for the first 4 years, if demanded, and 26s. 8d. p.a. for the remaining 20, and rendering 40d. p.a. to the chief lord of the fee for all service; if Robert recover the other third of the said lands, etc. from John de Radclyf, kt., Richard shall have it for the same term at a yearly rent of 26s. 8d.; with provision respecting the taking of timber. 11 Nov. 1401. Seal, imperf.

9. Lease for 30 years by Robert de Longley to Ralph, son of Ralph de Radclyf, kt., of a third part of his manor of Alkerynton and of another third of the same after the death of Margaret, his [Robert's] mother; rent, during the said Margaret's life 2 marcs 5s. 4d. p.a., after her death 4 marcs 8s. p.a. 18 Aug. 1405. Seal. (Fr.) Endorsed: (72)

10. Gift by John de Radclif of Ordessale, kt., to Robert de Longley of a moiety of the manor of Alkryngton with appurtenances. 9 May 1412. Seal, heral. (imperf.).

11. Letter of attorney from the same to John de Longley to deliver seisin of the above moiety. [10] 9 May 1412. Seal, heral.

12. The same from the same to Alexander de Longley to deliver to Thurstan de Longley and John de Longley seisin of a moiety of the manor of Alkryngton with appurtenances. 10 June 1412. Seal, missing.

13. Gift by the same to Thurstan de Longley and John de Longley of a moiety of the manor of Alkryngton with appurtenances. 16 June 1412. Seal, missing.

14. Release from the same to the same of all his right, etc. in the same. 18 June 1412. Seal, missing.

15. Confirmation by Robert de Tetlawe to Robert de Longley of all his estate, for term of the former's life, in lands and tenements lying between the ditch which the said Robert de Tetlawe made, by order of Richard Barton of Middulton, esq., and Honywall gate ; which lands, etc. the said Robert de Longley has recovered by reason of an assize. 6 April 1442. Seal, heral. (worn).

16. Writ of error to the Chancellor of the County Palatine of Lancaster respecting Richard Holland and his wife Margaret, William Dansey and his wife Anne, and messuages, etc. formerly owned by Sir Robert Langley in Alkrington and Prestwitche, co. Lanc. 30 June 1598. Endorsed : (72)

17. Letter of attorney from Dame Grace Darcy (widow of Sir Robert Darcy), Clement Coke, esq., and his wife Sarah (sister of the said Grace, both being daughters and co-heirs of the late Alexander Redich), and William Dancy [*sic*], esq. (son and heir of the late Anne Dancy), to Adam Garside of Prestwich, co. Lanc., and William Booth of Redich, co. Lanc., to receive seisin of the manors of Alcrington and Prestwich and all messuages etc., belonging to the same whereof Thomas Leigh of Alcrington, esq., was seised in right of his wife Katherine (a daughter and co-heir of the late Sir Robert Langley). 12 Dec. 1623.

ASHOVER, CO. DERBY.

18. Lease for 40 years by William de Cantelowe, kt., and his wife Maud to Nicholas de Longford, kt., and his wife Alice of their property of Le Parkhall manor with appurtenances ; saving all manner of rents, advowsons, profits of courts, their purparty of mills and the woods and pastures of their parks, and their purparty of Colebotirley, Asshouere, Chestirfeld, Aluy Wod, Grayhirstmore, Brampton Wode, and Molotgroue, of lands and tenements, rents and services in le Peek and of the reversion of Boythorp manor with appurtenances ; rent, 66s. 8d. p.a., payable at the two terms of the year. 7 April 1371. 2 seals. (Fr.)

AUDENSHAW, CO. LANC.

19. Lease for 80 years by Richard Holland of Heaton, esq., his wife Margaret, and Alexander Reddich of Reddich, esq., to Ralph Wood of Awdinshawe, husbandman, of a messuage with appurtenances. 30 Dec. 1599.

BLACKWELL, CO. DERBY.

20. Feoffment to uses from Ralph Longford, kt., to John Fitzharbart and Humphrey Bradburne, esquires, John Bradburne, Anthony Fitzharbart

and Nicholas Fitzharbart, gentlemen, and Edward Redferne, perpetual vicar of Longford, of his manors of Blakewell, Whitewell, Barleburgh, Morton, Pillesley, Northwynfeld, Wyngerworth, Duxmanton, Normanton, Pynkeston and Boythorp, co. Derby and all his messuages, etc. there and elsewhere in the said county, saving his manors of Longford, Bupton, Malverton and Kynwalmarsh, co. Derby, and all his lands and tenements there. 10 Sept. 1510.

Blakenall, co. Staff.

21. Feoffment from Richard Myners of Blakenall to Thomas Talbot, esq. (brother of George, earl of Shrewsbury), John Aston, kt., Richard Knyveton, esq., John Porte and Thomas Kyneresley of his manor of Blakenall and all other his messuages, etc. in Blakenall, Tutbury and Merchynton, co. Staff., and Holyngton, co. Derby. 20 Jan. 1503. Seal.

Bolton, Little, co. Lanc.

22. Authorisation from William Holt of Grayes Inn, co. Middx., esq., to Katherine Redditche of Newall, co. Derby, widow, to receive from Sir Thomas Ireland of Grayes Inn, kt., certain money owing to William for land in Little Boulton sold to Sir Thomas. 22 June 1621.

Boythorpe, co. Derby.

23. Gift by Richard de Hauley to Ralph Bugge, son of Ralph de Nottingham, of all the lands he acquired by feoffment from John Abselon in Boithorp; rent, one pound of pepper and 2d. at the feast of St. James, yearly. *Hiis testibus Domino Ricardo de Vernun, Domino Matheo de Hathirseg', Domino Rogero de Eyncurt, Thome de Brampton, Petro de Brinneton, Willelmo le Winne, Hugone de Doquemonton, Adam* [*sic*] *de Langusdon, Hugone de Pecco, Willelmo de Langisdon* [*sic*], *Reginaldo filio Galfridi, et aliis.* n.d. [temp. Hen. III.] Seal. (Jeayes 355.)

24. Gift by Edusa, widow of Adam de Cateclyue, to John de Kalale, son of Robert de Kalale, of an acre of land in Boythorp in the place named le lowe near the road from Kalale to Walton ; rent, 4d. p.a. to the lord of the fee. *Hiis testibus Henrico Cesterfeld, clerico, Alano de Lenne, Petro de Topton, Roberto de Lenne, Rudulfo de Beston, Roberto de Boythorpe, Radulfo de Boythorp* [*sic*], *Radulfo clerico, et aliis.* n.d. [temp. Hen. III.] Seal, missing. (Jeayes 356.)

25. Gift by Ralph, son of Hugh de Boythorp', to Robert, son of Ralph de Essouer of Cesterfeld of 3 roods of land in the fields and fee of Boythorp' between land of Richard Bond on the one side and land of Stephen Hackesmal on the other, one end abutting on the water called Rodyr and the other on land of the said Stephen ; rent, 2d. p.a. to the chief lord of the fee. 6 May 1302. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 365.)

26. Gift by *dominus* Richard de Bingham to his son Richard of all his (specified) messuages, lands, etc. in Boythorp' with all rents, services, etc., appertaining to them, for term of the latter's life ; rent, during the grantor's life 9 marcs p.a., and after his death a rose leaf to his heirs ; with reversion to the grantor's heirs after the grantee's death. 10 May 1307. Seal, heral. (Jeayes 368.)

27. Gift by Henry, son of Henry Clerk of Cesterfeld to *dominus* Richard de Byngham of the services of Richard de Dokemanton, Adam Broun of Cesterfeld, Roger de Mamesfeld, John de Calihale, John Ingram, William Fynian, William le Lorimer, Stephen Hacsmal, Thomas de Scardeclive, Robert de Barley, Henry son of Mar', of the heir of Thomas le Longe, of Richard de Romeley, Robert son of Nicholas de Thorp, of the Gilds of the Blessed Mary, Holy Cross and the Smiths, all three at Cesterfeld, and of Robert de Normanton and Roger Lauerock, for lands of the fee of the said Richard de Byngham in Boythorp. *Hiis testibus domino Rogero le Brette, milite, Rogero Breton, Willelmo le Brette, Johanne Durount de Cesterfeld, Stephano le Eyr de eadem, Ada de Neubolt de eadem, Willelmo de Kyluyngton, Hugone Saunfayle, et aliis.* n.d. [early 14th cent.] Seal, missing.

28. Quitclaim from Agnes, widow of Robert de Essouere, of all her right in her dower lands, namely, 3 roods in the fee of Boythorp between land of William Kydekas on the one side and land of Henry Miller [*Molendinarius*] on the other, one end abutting on the Rodir and the other on land formerly held by Stephen Hacsmal. 3 Nov. 1316. Seal. (Jeayes 370 incorrectly reads " three acres ".).

29. Lease for 12 years from Roger, son of Ranulph de Chastrefeld, to Joan, widow of Roger Lauerok, of an acre of arable land in the fee of Boythorpp between the highway from Chastrefeld to Wyngerworth on the one side and land of John Clerk on the other; rent, 14d. silver p.a. to the grantor. 18 Sept. 1356. Seal, heral. (worn). (Jeayes 376.)

30. Jury presentment that Ralph Longford held a moiety of Boythorp manor of Ralph, lord of Cromwell; they do not know by what service or whether it be held of the manor of Dronfeld or the manor of Elmeton; that Nicholas Longford, aged 14 years and more, is Ralph's next heir; and that Thomas Longford's claim to a moiety of the manor by feoffment from the said Ralph Longford cannot be sustained. n.d. [late 14th cent.] (Jeayes 377.)

31. Bargain and sale by Ralph Longforth of Longforth, kt., to Sir Godfrey Foliambe of Walton, co. Derby, kt., of Boythorpe manor with appurtenances in Boythorpe and Haseland. 18 Sept. 1536. (Jeayes 382.)

32. Indenture of covenants between Edward Gryffen, gentleman, and Edward Bonne, on behalf of Sir Ralph Longforth and his wife Dorothy, to assure Boythorpe manor to Sir Godfrey Foliambe by a common recovery. 10 Sept. 1539. (Jeayes 383.)

BRAILSFORD, CO. DERBY.

33. Return of William Hollys, sheriff of Derby, that he has delivered to Dorothy Porte, widow, full seisin of a third part of all manors, lands, etc. in Braylysheford named in a writ of 4 May. 24 June 1558. Seal, fragment.

BROUGHTON, CO. LANC.

34. Indenture of agreement between John Fetheler, parson of the church of Radcliff, William Wuldur and John de Strangways, draper, of the one part, and Roger de Longeley, of the other, respecting lands and tenements in Tettlowe and Chetham. 21 Aug. 1389. 3 seals (2 missing, 1 defaced). (Fr.)

CHELMORTON, CO. DERBY.

35. Gift by William Bailly, son and heir of Thomas Bailly, to William Dawkyn of Chelmerdon of a messuage in Chelmerdon and 10 acres of land and one rood in the fields there. 30 June 1477. Seal, missing.

36. Quitclaim from Nicholas Draycote, formerly of Bradnop, co. Staff., gentleman, to William Dawkyn of Chelmerdon of all his right in the same. 3 Sept. 1492. Seal, missing.

37. Grant from William Dawken of Chelmerdon, yeoman, to his son Robert of all his messuages, lands, etc. in Chelmerdon. 15 Nov. 1522. Seal, missing.

38. Settlement before the marriage of John Dale, son and heir of Thurstan Dale the elder of Chelmerton, yeoman, and Anne Goodwine, daughter of William Goodwine. 29 Jan. 1602. Imperf.

39. Lease for 60 years by Robert Dakyn of Chelmerton, yeoman, to John Dakyn of the same, clerk, of a cottage and land in Chelmerton. 20 Sept. 1620.

CHORLTON-CUM-HARDY, CO. LANC.

40. Bond of Katherine Barlow, widow, to John Rediche of Rediche, co. Lanc., esq., to keep an award of Alexander Radcliff, kt., Edmund Trafford, Richard Sneyde and Robert Challoner respecting her claims of dowry after the death of Roger Barlow, her late husband. 22 Aug. 1525. (Seal, missing.)

41. Assignment from Anne Barlawe (widow of Elys Barlawe and mother and guardian of his son and heir Alexander), with the consent of John Rediche (her brother), to Katherine Barlawe (widow of Roger Barlawe, grandfather of the said Alexander) of lands, etc. in the towns of Chollerton and Hardeye, to hold during Alexander's minority, in recompense for such lands as should belong to her [Katherine] by dower. 29 Sept. 1525. Seal, imperf. O.n. (7)

COLMWORTH, CO. BEDFORD.

42. *Colmworth Provitions, Michaelmas* 1650. Paper, 4 ff.

CRUMPSALL, CO. LANC.

43. Letter of attorney from Thomas la Warre, clerk, to John de Hulme and Henry Bukkeley to receive from William Thirnyng, kt., John de Meeres, John de la Launde, Roger Welby, Nicholas Motte, parson of Swynesheved, Thomas Barnaby, parson of Rothewell, Simon Luffenham, William Auncell, and John Overton seisin of lands, etc. leased to him in the hamlet of Curmesale. 1 Aug. 1405. Seal of la Warre, heral.

44. The same from the above Sir William, John, John, Roger, Nicholas, Thomas, Simon, William and John to James de Radcliff, Henry Strangwas and James Strangwas to deliver to Thomas la Warre, clerk, seisin of the same. 1 Aug. 1405. 9 seals (5 heral.).

45. Note of that part of the I.P.M. of Thomas la Warre, clerk, respecting the same lands, etc. n.d. [15th cent.]

46. Indenture of agreement between Thomas Gawdy, esq., an executor of Robert, late earl of Sussex, and John Redyche, esq., respecting the manor of Crumpsall. 21 May 1552. Seal.

47. Lease by Richard Holland of Heaton, co. Lanc., esq., and his wife Margaret to James Bowker of Cromsall, husbandman of a messuage in Cromsall with appurtenances, for Margaret's life. 10 Jan. 1578. Seals, missing.

48. Similar lease to Robert Bowker of a cottage, a walk mill with 2 stocks and waters belonging thereto and a tenter croft with the tenters standing on it, in Cromsall. 10 Jan. 1578. Seals, missing.

49. Copy of proceedings at Lancaster in a case between Edmund Prestwich, esq., plaintiff, and Alexander Reddishe, esq., defendant. 25 June 1601.

50. Award in a dispute between the same, that Edmund shall release all his right, etc., in Curmsall Moare to Alexander. 26 July 1601. 3 seals (2 missing). O.n. **(35)**

51. Release by the above Edmund to the above Alexander of all his right, etc., in Cormsale Moore. 16 Sept. 1601. Seal, imperf. O.n. **(34)**

52. Bargain and sale by Alexander Rediche of Rediche, co. Lanc., esq., to Sir William Sedley of Aylesforde, co. Kent, kt., of messuages, cottages, lands, etc., in Crumsall and Heaton Faughefield. 3 Feb. 1609. O.n. **(40)**. With counterpart. (O.n. **(41)**.)

53. Reconveyance from the above Sir William to the above Alexander of the same, upon conditions. 18 Feb. 1609. O.n. **(42)**. With counterpart. (O.n. **43)**.)

54. Bond of the above Alexander to the above Sir William for performance of 52 and 53 above. 18 Feb. 1609. Seal.

55. Letter of attorney from Sir William Sedley to William Cowdall and James Tooke, gentlemen, to receive seisin of lands, etc., in Crumsall and Heaton Faughfield. 23 May 1615. Seal.

56. Lease for 3 lives by Clement Coke of Langforde, co. Derby, esq., and his wife Sarah (a daughter and heir of the late Alexander Reddiche, esq.) and Katherine Reddiche of Newhall, co. Derby (widow of the said Alexander), to James Pendleton of Cormsall, husbandman, of a messuage in Cormsall. 12 April 1619. Seal.

57. Similar lease to Thomas Scoales of Cormsall, husbandman. 20 Sept. 1619.

58. Two orders of the Court of Wards and Liveries respecting Katherine Redish. 1624.

59. Lease for 21 years by Sir Edward Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., to Adam Ouldham of Crompsall, husbandman, of a close in Crompsall. 4 Jan. 1649.

60. Abstract of leases by Alexander Reddich, esq., Clement Coke and his wife Sarah, Katherine Reddich, widow, and Richard Holland, esq., and his wife Margaret, of lands, etc., in Cromsall, Prestwich and Tetlowe, 1588-1619. n.d. [prob. temp. Charles I.] Parchment roll, 2 mm. O.n. **(51)**

61. Note of lawyers' opinions in a case respecting Crumsale More. n.d. [17th cent.] O.n. **(68)**

DALBURY, CO. DERBY.

62. Will of Gervas Brough, gentleman. 3 April 1678. Copy.

DARLEY, CO. DERBY.

63. Dispensation from Abp. Cranmer to Henry Tofte of the monastery of Darley to become a secular priest and be capable of a benefice. 25 Nov. 1538. Seal, fragment. Attached is the royal inspeximus, 2 Dec. Seal, slightly imperf.

CO. DERBY.

64. Assignment from Richard Holland of Denton, esq., at the special request of Katherine Redishe (widow of the late Alexander Redishe) and in performance of marriage articles of Clement Coke, esq. (youngest son of Sir Edward Coke) and Sarah Redishe (a daughter and heir of the said Alexander), to the said Edward Coke, kt., Lord Chief Justice and Privy Councillor, of all those manors, etc., in cos. Derby, Nottingham, Leycester, Stafford or Warwick in which the said Alexander and Katherine had interest. 14 Dec. 1613. 2 seals.

65. The same from the above Sir Edward Coke, at the request of the above Katherine Redishe, to William Holte of Grayes Inn, co. Middx., esq., and Arthur Hildersame of Ashby de la Zouch, co. Leic., clerk, of the above manors, etc., with certain specified exceptions. 28 Mar. 1614. (Appar. not executed.)

66. The same from the same to the same, of the manors, etc., concerned in 64 above, to the use of the above Katherine. 3 May 1614. 3 seals.

67. The same from Sir Edward Cooke of Stokepoges, co. Buck., kt., and Richard Holland of Denton, esq., to George Willmer, esq., and Richard Browne, esq., of the same. 19 Nov. 1617. Copy.

68. Note of the delivery to George Wilmer of a lease of 28 Oct. 1597 by Alexander Rediche, deceased, and his wife Katherine to Sir Francis Hastinges and Richard Holland, both deceased, of manors, etc., in cos. Derbye, Nottingham, Leycester, Stafford and Warwick. 26 Feb. 1619/20.

69. *An explanacion of the Trust of the leaving of the lease* [see 68] . . . *in Mr. Wilmeres handes.* 22 Jan. 1622/23.

70. Address of loyalty to the King from the Grand Jury at Derby Assizes, with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant, High Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace of co. Derby. 14 Sept. 1649. Slightly imperf. With signatures.

71. Appointment by William, earl of Devonshire, Lieutenant of co. Derby, of his Deputy Lieutenants (incl. Sir Robert Cooke). 10 April 1671.

72. Appointment by the same of Sir Robert Coke, bart., as Captain of a Company of Foot in the County Militia. 11 April 1671.

73. Release by Sir Thomas Jones, kt., sergeant-at-law, at the request of Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., and his wife Dame Sarah, to Richard Taylor of Shrewsbury, co. Salop., of manors, etc., in cos. Derby and Suffolk and in the County Palatine of Lancaster specified in an indenture of 27 March 1667. 16 July 1674.

74. Letter of Elizabeth Wright to Mr. [?]. 24 Sept. [no year ; early 18th cent.] Deals with housekeeping affairs.

75. *An Act for vesting in trustees the settled estate of Washington, Earl Ferrers in co. Derby.* 1766. Printed. Two copies.

76. *An Act for more effectually vesting the reversion in fee-simple of and in divers lands and hereditaments, in the Counties of Derby, Leicester, Nottingham and Stafford, in Washington, Earl Ferrers and his trustees ; and for confirming Letters Patent, granted thereof, and of certain other lands and hereditaments in the County of Northampton.* 1771. Printed.

77. *An Act for the more effectually carrying into execution an Act,* etc. [75 above.] 1775. Printed.

78. *An Act for appointing new trustees to carry into execution an Act,* etc. [77 above.] 1775. Printed.

DERBY, CO. DERBY.

79. Will of Richard Brandreth of Derbie, yeoman. 1 Oct. 1636. Copy.

CO. DORSET.

80. Feoffment from John Redyche of Redyche, co. Lanc., esq., to George Delalynd, esq., and John Myllez of Corff Castell, co. Dorset, of his manor and farm called Newton, with appurtenances in the parish of Swanwiche, and messuages, lands, etc., in the said parish, in the parishes of Langton and Corff Castell, and in the towns, parishes, etc., of West Parley, Cranborne, Wynborne Mynster, the Isle of Purbeck and elsewhere in co. Dorset. 7 Nov. 1547. 2 seals.

DUCKMANTON, CO. DERBY.

81. Lease for life by John Fitzherbert of Norbury, co. Derby, esq., Thomas Fitzherbert, Anthony Fitzherbert, John Bradburne, and Edward Redfern, rector of Longforth, co. Derby, to Thomas Longforth of the manors of Dukmanton and Elaxston, all lands, etc., there formerly belonging to Sir Ralph Longforth, and a messuage, lands, etc., in Newton Sulney, co. Derby. 19 July 1521. 5 seals (one missing).

82. Bargain and sale by Nicholas Longford of Longford, co. Derby, esq., to Sir Francis Leek, kt., of all his messuages, etc., in Dukmanton. 2 Nov. 1565. Seal.

EDLASTON, CO. DERBY.

83. Bargain and sale by Thomas Reersby, esq., to George Rolleston of Mayfyld, co. Staff., esq. 30 April 1573.

ETWALL, CO. DERBY.

84. Return of William Hollys, sheriff of co. Derby, that he has delivered to Dorothy Porte, widow, seisin of a third part of manors, lands, etc., in Etwall, Ashe, Daleburie, Repingdon, and other places in co. Derby. 24 June 1558. Seal.

GORTON, CO. LANC.

85. Final concord, at Lancaster, between Sir Edward Cooke, bart., plaintiff, and William Booth, gentleman, and John Booth and his wife Anne, deforciants, respecting land in Gorton. 16 March 1652. O.n. **(60)**

HADDON, CO. DERBY.

86. Roll of courts of John de Barley held at Haddon, May 1394-May 1395, Oct. 1401-Feb. 1403. Parchm., 2 mm.

HAIL WESTON, CO. HUNT.

87. Quitclaim from William Dyer of the Ford in Eaton Socon parish, co. Bedford, to Katherine Coke for all rents, amercements, etc., due to him as Lord of the manor of Hailweston. 28 Feb. 1682.

HATHERSAGE, CO. DERBY.

88. Lease by Ralph Longford, kt., to Thomas Wellys, John Wellys, and Margery Bonyngton of his manor of Hathersegge to uses mentioned in indentures of 10 Oct. previous. 23 Oct. 1496. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1358.)

89. Feoffment from Ralph Longford of Longford, co. Derby, kt., to John Fitzherbert of Norbury, and Humphrey Bradburne, esquires, John Bradburne, Anthony Fitzherbert, sergeant-at-law, Nicholas Fitzherbert and Edward Reddeferne, perpetual vicar of Longford, of all his manors, messuages, etc., in Hadersich and Newton Sulney, in trust for the said Ralph for life and on his death to his sons Richard, Thomas, John, Henry and William, on failure of issue to any. 19 Sept. 1510. Seal. O.n. **(7)**. (Jeayes 1359.)

90. Release by the above feoffees to the above Ralph of the same. 12 Jan 1513. 5 seals, imperf. O.n. **(11)**

91. Court rolls of Hathersage, 23 June 1547, and Ellastone, 10 Dec. 1548. Paper, 3 'skins'.

HARTINGTON, CO. DERBY.

92. Lease for 7 years by Roland Heathcote, yeoman, to John Buxston, husbandman, of a part of the Hardhurst in the parish of Hartyngton. 3 Oct. 1583. Seal, missing.

HEATON, GREAT AND LITTLE, CO. LANC.

93. Deed whereby Richard, son of David de Hulton, sen., entails on David, son of David de Hulton, his brother, and on Richard, son of David de Hulton, jun., and their respective rightful heirs, with reversion to the heirs of Hulton, his manor of Ouirheton super Faghefeld. 5 Oct. 1276. Seal.

94. Quitclaim by Richard de Hulton to Richard de Hulton of Redich' of all his right, etc., in the manor of Ouirhetoun super Faghefelt. 13 Dec. 1334. Seal, heral.

95. Extracts of a plea of William, son of Richard de Hulton, against Richard, son of Richard de Hulton of Reddyche, respecting the manor of Heton super Faghefelde. Trinity 1335, Mich. 1337.

96. Gift by Richard, son of Richard de Hulton, to Richard de Pilkynton, chaplain, of his manor of Heton super Faghefeld. 15 Feb. 1340. Seal, missing.

97. Record of a plea at Lancaster of Richard de Redyche, sen., against William, son of William de Redych, respecting the manor of Heton super Faghfeld. Lent, 1342.

98. Gift by Richard, lord of Redych to his son Thomas of all his lands and tenements in Heton up Fafeld; rent, 53s. 4d. p.a. for term of Richard's life. 26 Jan. 1371. Seal, missing.

99. Gift by Ralph de Rediche to his brother Oto de Rediche of his manor of Heton super Falghfeld. Saturday in the first week of Lent, 1404. Seal, missing.

100. Gift by Ralph de Rediche to Robert del Whitehalgh, rector of Wynfeld, and Richard del Wode, of his manor of Heeton super Falghfeld. 26 May 1409. Seal.

101. Letter of attorney from the same to his brother Oto de Rediche to deliver seisin of the same. 26 May 1409. Seal.

102. Letter of attorney from the above Robert and Richard to Richard de Buclegh, rector of the church of St. Nicholas, Durham, to deliver seisin of the same manor to Oto de Rediche. 25 June 1409. 2 seals, worn.

103. Lease for 40 years by Robert le Roper and John le Wryght, chaplains, to Oto de Redich of all messuages, etc., which they formerly held of the feoffment of the said Oto in Heton super Fawefelde; rent, 100s. silver p.a. 2 Feb. 1429. 2 seals.

104. Gift by the same to Richard, son of Oto de Redych, and Joan his wife, daughter of Ralph de Radclif, kt., of all messuages, etc., which they formerly had of the feoffment of the said Oto in Heton super Fawefeld; with remainder to Oto and his heirs if Richard die without lawful heirs male. 4 Feb. 1429. 2 seals.

105. Gift by Richard de Rediche to Elizabeth, daughter of Thurstan de Holand, for term of her life, of all those lands and tenements in Heton super Fawfeld now in the tenure of John Rediche, John Hunt, Henry Birom, Ralph Herdman, Margaret le Smyth, Alice Morell and Alice Wrigley, with provisional remainder to John, the grantor's son, on Elizabeth's death. 6 Jan. 1442. Seal.

106. Gift by John Reddishe of Reddishe, esq., to his mother Alice Reddishe of a capital messuage called Heaton, with appurtenances, in the parish of Prestwich, for life. 12 Feb. 1568. Seal, missing.

107. Letter of attorney from Richard Holland of Heaton, esq., and his wife Margaret, and William Dansey of Agecroft, co. Lanc., and his wife Anne, to John Boulton and William Cowdall to enter messuages, etc., late of Katherine, late sister of the said Margaret and Anne, or whereof Thomas Leigh, deceased, Katherine's late husband, was at any time seised. 19 July 1600. 4 seals, missing.

108. Indenture of agreement between Alexander Reddiche of Reddiche, esq., and Anthony Mosley, of Manchester, clothier, respecting a mortgage of lands, etc., in Heaton Fawghefeild. 29 March 1606. Seal.

109. Feoffment from the same to Robert Robinson, gentleman, and Francis Locker, draper, both of Manchester, of lands, etc., in the same. 31 March 1606. Seal.

110. Notification by the same that he will pay Anthony Mosley 1,000 l. on 20 May next following, being the sum concerned in a mortgage of 29 March 1606. 23 Oct. 1606. Seal.

111. Sale by the same to Thomas Tomlinson and Thomas Parker, both of Egginton, co. Derby, yeomen, of lands, etc., in Heaton Fawghfeeld. 15 Sept. 1607. 2 seals, missing.

112. Lease by the same to Thomas Battersbie of Pilkinton, co. Lanc., webster, of a cottage in Heaton Faughfield, for 3 lives after the death of the occupant, William Whittecar. 6 July 1608. Seal, missing.

113. Sale by the same to Oswald Mosley of le Ancoates, gentleman, of a close named le Shippon Flatte *alias* Rushiefeilde in Heaton Faughfeilde. 1 Feb. 1611. Seal, missing.

114. Sale by the same to the same of 2 messuages, lands, etc., in the same. 14 Dec. 1611. Seal, missing. O.n. **(44)**. With counterpart. (Seal. O.n. **(70)**.)

115. Sale by the same to the same of the capital messuage called le Ouldehall in the same. 16 Dec. 1611. Seal, missing.

116. Sale by the same to the same of two messuages, land, etc., in the same. 16 Dec. 1611. Seal, missing.

117. Note from Oswald Mosley to Alexander Reddiche respecting lands in Heaton Faughefield purchased by Oswald on 14 Dec. 1611. 17 Dec. 1611.

118-130. Bargains and sales by Alexander Rediche of Newhall, co. Derby, esq., on 10 April 1613, to the following, who are husbandmen, unless otherwise stated :—

118. Richard Baguley.
119. George Bowker, linen weaver.
120. Edmund Byrom.
121. Robert Dyson.
122. Richard Heywood.
123. John Howorth.
124. Robert Hunt.
125. Dennis Johnson *alias* Beacom.
126. Richard Johnson *alias* Beacom.
127. Robert Johnsonne *alias* Beacome, tailor.
128. William Ogden.
129. Francis Smethurste. O.n. **(69)**
130. James Teylor, yeoman.

131-143. Similar indentures, of 12 April 1613, in performance of articles of 10 April, respecting :—

131. Richard Baguley.
132. George Bowker, linen weaver.
133. Edmund Byromme.
134. Robert Dyson.
135. Richard Heywood. O.n. **(13)**
136. John Howorth.
137. Robert Hunt.
138. Richard Johnson *alias* Beacom. O.n. **(25)**
139. Robert Johnsonne *alias* Beacome, tailor.
140. Oswald Mosley, gentleman.
141. William Ogden.
142. Francis Smethurste.
143. James Teylor, yeoman.

144-156. Similar indentures of 3 March 1617 respecting Sir Edward Coke of Stoke, co. Buck., and :—

144. Richard Baguley.
145. John Booth, linen weaver.
146. Edmund Byron.
147. Robert Dyson.
148. Richard Heywood.
149. Peter Haworth.
150. Dennis Johnson *alias* Beacom.
151. Richard Johnson *alias* Beacome.
152. Robert Johnson *alias* Beacom.
153. Oswald Mosley, esq.
154. William Ogden.
155. Francis Smethurste.
156. James Taylor, yeoman.

157. Similar indenture respecting Jeremy Wolstencroft of Roades in Middleton parish, co. Lanc., husbandman. 16 Feb. 1618. Endorsed: *Never executed.*

158. Similar indenture respecting Richard Beacon *alias* Johnson of Heaton Faughfielde *alias* Heaton super Faughfielde, husbandman. 15 James I [1617/18.]. Draft.

HEATON NORRIS, CO. LANC.

159. Lease for 12 years by William Hulme, Margaret his wife and Thomas his son to Robert Hulme of a parcel of the Wytte fylde in Heyton Norrez. 26 Feb. 1543. 3 seals (1 missing, 1 fragm.).

HOLKHAM, CO. NORF.

160. Bond of Robert Coke of Holkeham, esq., to Robert Coke of Langford, co. Derby, bart., for performance of the will of John Coke, late of Holkeham, esq., deceased, in respect of copyhold lands in co. Norfolk. 21 May 1677.

161. Will of Edward Coke of Holkham, esq. 7 Nov. 1706. Codicil of same date. Certified copy.

162. Decree constituting the guardians of Thomas Coke, esq., son and heir of Edward Coke, esq., deceased. 30 July 1707. Copy.

HOLLINGTON, CO. DERBY.

163. Gift by Thomas Blount, kt., to Alvered de Longeforde, esq., of all his lands, tenements, etc., in Holyngton, Folefort, Ardesley and Okemedow which lately belonged to his father Walter Blount, kt. 18 Nov. 1432. Seal. (Jeayes 1393.)

164. Gift by Alvered Longford, esq., to Nicholas Fitzherbert, esq., Laurence Caton, and Thomas Barlowe, chaplain, of all the above lands, etc., received of the feoffment of Thomas Blount, kt. 1 Dec. 1434. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1394.)

165. Letter of attorney to John Medilton, vicar of Longford, to deliver seisin of the same. 1 Dec. 1434. Seal.

166. Gift by the above Nicholas, Laurence and Thomas to the above Alvered of an annual rent of 20s. for life, issuing from the same lands, etc. 5 Dec. 1434. 3 seals. (Jeayes 1395.)

167. Lease for 20 years by William Basset of Blore, co. Staff., esq., to John Morley of Holyngton, of a croft called Sisset Yard, 6 acres of land and 7 parcels of meadow in Holyngton. 2 Feb. 1521. Seal, missing.

168. Bargain and sale by William Myners of Blakenall, co. Staff., gentleman, to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, kt., one of the King's Justices, of Myners Hey in Hollyngton and all other his lands etc. in Hollyngton and in Longford, co. Derby. 18 Dec. 1526. O.n. **(18)**

169. The same from the above Sir Anthony to Ralph Longford, esq., his son-in-law, of a moiety of the same. 20 Dec. 1526. Seal. O.n. **(19)**

170. Release of right by the above Sir Anthony and by John Fitzherbert, Thomas Fitzherbert, Richard Coton and William Marten, rector of Hampstall Ridware, to Humphrey Coton in the lands, etc., concerned in 168 above, to the end that Humphrey may enfeoff them thereof, to the use of Anthony and his heirs. 12 Jan. 1527. 5 seals. O.n. **(21)**

171. Feoffment by the above Humphrey in performance of the above release. 15 Jan. 1527. O.n. **(17)**

172. Final concord between Anthony Fitzherbert, kt., John Fitzherbert, Thomas Fitzherbert, Richard Cotton and William Marten, clerk, plaintiffs, and William Myners, deforciant, respecting land with appurtenances in Hollyngton and Longford. 3 Feb. 1527. With counterpart.

173. Abstract of the title of Thomas William Coke, esq., to closes in Hollington named the Hall Meadow, the Oak Meadow and the Eight Prior Leyes. June, 1820.

Ipswich, co. Suff.

174. *Rentale reddittuum canonicorum priorissatus beatorum appostolorum Petri et Pauli Gippeswici a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno domini quingentesimo sexto decimo.* Parchm. roll, 3 mm. Copy, made 1591.

175. Rental of the above suppressed house. n.d. [temp. Henry VIII.] Parchment, 1m. Copy, examined by Arthur Agarde, 8 July 1609. O.n. **(42)**

Co. Lancaster.

176. Gift by Ralph del Wode to his son Oto del Wode of all his moveable goods and chattels in the county of Lancaster and elsewhere in the kingdom of England. 20 Dec. 1440. Seal.

177. Bond of Catherine Redych', John Assheton, kt., Edmund Assheton, esq., and Geoffrey Assheton, to John Redych in 100 l. for Catherine to keep an award respecting her dower and jointure of lands, etc., which belonged to her late husband, Richard Redych, in co. Lancaster. 22 Aug. 1473. 4 seals (imperf.).

178. Conveyance from Nicholas Longeforde of Longforde, co. Derby, esq., and Martha his wife to Richard Barnefeelde, gentleman, of divers manors, messuages, etc., in cos. Lancaster and Derby. 22 Nov. 1587. Seal, missing.

London.

179. Extracts from parish registers of the baptism (24 Feb. 1617) of Edward, son of Clement Cooke, gentleman ; the burial (23 Mar. 1629) of Clement Cooke, son of the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Cooke ; and the burial (30 Jan. 1623) of Sarah, wife of Clement Cooke.

180. *The Accompt of Roger Jacson of London.* London, 26 July 1687. Imperf.

LONGFORD, CO. DERBY.

181. Gift by Nigel, son of Nicholas to Robert de Seila, his kinsman, of 2 bovates of land in Bubend', one which Godwin held, the other which Paganus held; rent, 12d. p.a. *Hiis testibus Waltero, abbate de Derleie, Henrico, priore de Calewihc, Roberto de Saucheu', Willelmo filio Radulphi, Radulpho filio Nicholai, Henrico de Blort, Willelmo filio Foun, Gaufrido de Sancto Quint', Johanne de Leke, Hugone de Sirl, Willelmo filio Tirri, Rogero filio Radulphi, Nicholao de Spond', Driu de Uered', Ricardo de Leke, Symone de Bedeford, et pluribus aliis clericis et laicis.* n.d. [late 12th cent.] Seal, in leather pouch.

182. Final concord made in the county of Notingham, William Briwere being sheriff, between John de Saucheuerel, plaintiff, and Oliver son of Nigel de Bubendon, deforciant, to wit, that John has quitclaimed all his right in Bubendon, Longeford, Malmerton, Turuerdeston and Wdehuses with appurtenances, whereupon there was a plea between them, by writ of right, and in Alaxton, Calewic, Stanton, Prestewde and in all the inheritance of Ralph son of Ertald, their ancestor, saving John's tenement which he and his ancestors held of Oliver and his ancestors, namely, in Chedle, Norwde, Chauernasse and Romeshouer, and in 8 bovates of land in Alaxton and in Alaxton mill, saving to each his claim in Caldecot. For this final concord and quitclaim Oliver has released and granted to John the service and homage of Robert de Saucheuerel, to wit, the fourth part of one knight's service in Hopewell, which Robert holds of Oliver, and as much service as belongs to one bovate of land in the same vill belonging to the same tenement, and 20 marcs of silver. *Hiis testibus Henrico subuicecomite, Willelmo de Leca, Willelmo de Rothomago, Huberto filio Radulphi, Simone Tuschet, Roberto de Mercampo, Thoma Dispensatore, Hugone et Thoma filiis suis, Radulpho filio Jordani, Sewale de Muniai, Willelmo de Verdun, Hugone de Acouer, Philippo de Draicote, Willelmo filio Ricardi de Cliftona, et comitatu de Notingham.* n.d. [1197]. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1554 incorrectly reads " Muscampo " for " Mercampo ".)

The other part of this chirograph formed part of the supplementary deposit and is no. 925 below.

183. Acquittance from William de Estotevill' to Oliver de Langeforde for a debt of 10 marcs. [1200.] Seal, missing. (Fr.)

184. Grant to Nigel de Longford and his heirs of free warren in his demesne lands of the manor of Longford, co. Derby, and Achelayton [*sic*], co. Staff. 9 June 1252. 18th cent. English translation, with a copy of a Quo Warranto, dated 1 July 1330 [202 below], respecting the same.

The original grant of free warren formed part of the supplementary deposit and is no. 928 below.

185. Indenture of agreement for a lease for 30 years by *dominus* Nigel de Lanford [*sic*] to Robert Marshal [*Marescallus*], son of Robert Smith [*Faber*] of Wotton of 9 selions in le Stoniflat next Stephen's cross and a toft in Bobinton which Stephen le Blodletere formerly held; for 2s. silver at the feast of St. James the Apostle. 1 Nov. 1252. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1556.)

186. Final concord at Derby whereby Roger Duredent releases to Nigel de Langeford right of estover in Nigel's park in Langeford and right to

rebuild all buildings and re-enclose all assarts which Nigel had formerly built and enclosed in Langeford and Wudehus but which, on the complaint of the said Roger, had been thrown down by a decision of the King's court, saving to Roger and his heirs common of pasture in the said assarts ; and Nigel grants to Roger right of estover in all his other woods in Langeford and Bubelden, save in a place named le Parrok, where are the said Nigel's decoys [*volata*], and one marc of annual rent from his water-mill in Langeford named Bubeldenemylne. Quin. of Hilary, 1258. (Cf. Jeayes 1557.) With duplicate, slightly imperf.

187. Indenture of covenants whereby *dominus* Nigel de Longeford leases for 41 years to William de Longesdon, *manens in Iueleg'*, an assart in Longford fee which Matthew, formerly servant of Roger de Mercenton, formerly held, with common of pasture throughout the whole fee of Longeford, Malmerton and Bobbedon, save in Nigel's park, corn or meadows, and timber for building from Brendewode ; rent, 20s. silver p.a. 29 Sept. 1272. Seal, slightly imperf. (Jeayes 1559.)

188. Gift by Oliver, son of Adam de Kauelond, to his sister Emma of a bovate of land with half an acre of the meadow of Durdon, namely, that bovate which Leysing formerly held in Bobedun ; rent, 1d. p.a. at Christmas, with provisos should Emma wish to sell or grant it or should she die without lawful heir. *Hiis testibus domino Roberto de Esseburye, domino Nigillo de Longeford, domino Radulfo de Grendun, domino Roberto de Perrer, Stephano de Yrtun, Ricardo Fytun, et aliis.* n.d. [temp. Henry III]. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1560.)

189. Gift by Ralph le Foun, son of Henry le Foun, with the consent of his wife Emma, to *dominus* Nigel de Langeford, of an annual rent of 12d. from his land in Bubendon. *Hiis testibus domino Radulfo de Grendon, domino Henrico de Breylesford, Stephano de Yrton, Hamundo de Saperton, Fitone de Benetlee, Michelo de Langeford, et multis aliis.* n.d. [temp. Henry III]. Seal. (Jeayes 1561.)

190. Final concord whereby *dominus* Oliver de Longeford leases to Roger de Mercinton and his wife Eleanor, for term of their lives, 20 acres in le Brendewode extending in length from Berleyford towards le Wodehous, to be assarted and cultivated, common of pasture being reserved to Oliver after the hay and corn are carried ; and Roger grants that Oliver may approw all his waste land in le Brendewode and in le Ruddemedwe and releases to him all tenements which Henry Reeve [*Prepositus*], Robert Reeve [*Prepositus*] and Richard le Lacour enclosed in le Wodehous, saving to Roger and Eleanor and their tenants of Malmerton common of pasture in le Brendewode and le Ruddemedwe after the hay and corn are carried ; rent, 1d. p.a. 4 May 1281. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1565.)

191. Accord of suit moved before *dominus* John de Vallibus and his fellow itinerant justices at Derby whereby Roger Duredent releases to Oliver de Langeford, kt., all his right in estovers in 2 woods of the said Oliver named Le Brentewode and Le Parrok, in return for which Oliver grants to Roger 30 acres in the said Le Brentewode. 9 Edw. I [1280/81]. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1564.)

192. I. P. M. of Oliver de Langeford. 28 Sept. 1283. Copy.

He held the manors of Langeford, Kynewaldmershe with Totelay and Dore, Barleburge, Whytewell and Hathersegge.

193. Quitclaim from Robert, son of Michael Wethyr, of Longeforde Wodehous to *dominus* John de Longeford and his wife Joan of an assart in the fee of Longeford named Berleyeruding. 28 Nov. 1294. Seal, imperf. (Jeayes 1568.)

194. Gift and quitclaim from Michael de Langeford to *dominus* Nigel, son of Nigel de Langeford, of land in Langeford, viz. 3 acres in the fields of La Wodehouse, 4½ in Burleg', 4 acres and a croft outside his messuage near La Wodhus, and 2½ acres on the meadows of Langeford. *Hiis testibus Domino Petro de Bakepuz, Domino Roberto de Perrers, Henrico de Irton, Stephano fratre eius, Henrico de Mapelton, Rogero Durdent, Henrico le Foun, Willelmo de Longeford, Roberto le Foun, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1300]. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1562 incorrectly reads " four acres in Burleg' ".)

195. Gift by Nigel, son of Nigel de Langeford, to Michael de Langeford of 3 acres in Langeford towards La Wodehouse, 4½ acres in Burleg', 4 acres with part of a croft and headland outside Michael's messuage, 1½ acres in the meadows of Longeford, and his capital messuage, and also the homage of Thomas Utereingh ; rent, 12d. p.a., doing suit at Nigel's court of Langeford. *Hiis testibus Domino Petro de Bakepuz, Domino Roberto de Perrers, Henrico de Mapelton, Stephano de Irton, Henrico le Foun, Willelmo de Longeford, Roberto le Foun, et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1300]. Seal. (Cf. Jeayes 1563.)

196. Lease by William Carter [*Carectarius*] of Bobedone to Roger Sflawe [not ' Eflawe ', as Jeayes] of a bovate of land and a toft and croft with a house thereon in Bobedon which William holds on lease from Nicholas, lord of Longeford, saving 2 acres of land. 17 Nov. 1314. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1569.)

197. Gift by Robert, son of Thomas Otting of Longoford [*sic*], to Richard de Diluerene and his wife Isabel of a toft with the houses thereon and 3 selions of arable land in Longoford. 9 Nov. 1316. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1570.)

198. Lease for 18 years by Nicholas, lord of Langeford, to Cecilia, widow of Henry de Alkemonton, of a messuage and a bovate of land with a toft, etc., and the buildings thereon, which her late husband held on lease from Joan de Langeforde ; rent, 10s. silver p.a. and certain services, doing suit to Bolbedun mill and suit of Langeford court from 3 weeks to 3 weeks. 11 Nov. 1316. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1571.)

199. Gift from Richard de le Pountfret to Nicholas de Longeford, kt., of a messuage and piece of land in Longeforde Wodehouses which he had by gift of Thomas son of Edith, extending in breadth from Berleye to le Schephouscroftus and in length from Nicholas's park to le Wodehouses. 2 Aug. 1318. Seal, imperf. (Jeayes 1572.)

200. Gift from Roger Bissop, *manens in Longeford*, to his son Roger of 6½ acres of arable land in the fee of Longeford, 2 on le Schurthehul, and the remainder between the lands of various specified persons. 15 March 1327. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1573.)

201. Gift by Richard de Pontefract to Nicholas de Longeford, kt., and his wife Alice of a messuage and a bovate of land in Bobden which he had of the feoffment of Henry, son of Oliver de [*blank*]. 28 March 1330. 18th century Eng. transl.

202. Plea of Quo Warranto before W. de Herle and his fellow itinerant justices at Derby respecting Nicholas de Langeford, the manor of Langeford and the park there. 1 July 1330.

203. Release by William Wythur of Longeford Wodehousus to *dominus* Nicholas de Longeford, kt., of all his right, etc., in all lands and tenements which his parents, *dominus* John de Longeford and lady Joan, had of the feoffment of Robert Wythur, William's father, in Longeford. 17 May 1331. Seal. (Jeayes 1574 dates from Dunstan's ordination.)

204. Defeasance of a bond from Nicholas de Longeford, kt., to Brother Philip de Thame, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in £10, for the repayment of a loan of 100s. which he has received by the hand of Brother William de Brex, at their house of Clerkenwell. Clerkenwell, 13 Mar. 1337. Seal, imperf. (Jeayes 1575.)

205. Gift from Nicholas de Longefford, kt., to Walter le Harper of Longeford, of 4½ acres of arable land in the fee of Longefford which Richard de Diluereyn and Hugh de Foulsford formerly held; for Walter's life; rent, 5s. silver p.a. 24 July 1337. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1576.)

206. Indenture of covenants whereby William, son of Richard de Pountfrect leases to Walter le Harper of Shirleg', for term of his [Walter's] life, a messuage with an adjacent croft in Longeford, 2½ bovates in the field of Longeford, 8 acres of arable land named le Flytenflate in the fee of Alkemonton, and all that meadow in the fee of Longeford which he holds on the day of this covenant; rent, 20s. p.a. for the first 20 years, and then 10 l. for the whole of Walter's life. 30 Sept. 1339. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1577.)

207. Gift by Roger de Fulford to Adam, son of Ralph de Assche, of a messuage with the buildings thereon and 8½ acres of arable land with meadow in Wodehouses, Burley, Bobbedon and Longeford. 4 Feb. 1347. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1578.)

208. Gift by William de Salford, parson of Longeford, Thomas de Longford, parson of Wynfeld, and John Cressy, parson of Thorp, to Nicholas de Longeford, kt., of 200 marcs of annual rent from the manor of Longeford for ever. 12 June 1362. 3 seals. (Jeayes 1580.)

209. Final concord between Nicholas de Longeford, plaintiff, and Oliver de Barton and his wife Alice, deforciants, respecting a third part of the manors of Longeford and Hathershegge, co. Derby, Wythynton, co. Lanc., and Elaston, co. Staff., and a moiety of the manors of Barleburgh and Kynwalmerssh, co. Derby. One month from Mich., 1376.

210. Rolls of the Great Court of Longford. 1367-1376. Parchment. 15 mm.

211. Lease by Nicholas de Longeford, kt., to John Amysson and his wife Matilda, for term of their lives, of a cottage, garden and croft near Bubbdon mill; rent, 2s. silver p.a. and certain services, doing suit to Bubbedon mill and Longford court from 3 weeks to 3 weeks. 7 March 1380. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1581.)

212. Gift by William Dylren' to Oliver de Barton and John Cressy, rector of Longford, of all his lands and tenements in Longford. 30 Sept. 1381. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1582.)

213. Indenture witnessing a gift by Nicholas de Longeford to William Fitzherbert of Northbury of all his land in le Mulneholme lying next to Douebrugpleck between Ekkescroft and Theveholme, on the one part, and the water of Douue on the other, together with the land named le Elondes, in exchange for the land named Alwaldesholme *del coulesue desqes al ewe de Douue* with land lying near the Douue. 26 Aug. 1390. Seal, heral. (Jeayes 1583, incorrectly reads "Dovebrugpleos"; the land is not, as he states, between Ekkescroft and Theveholme.)

214. Lease by Nicholas de Longeford, kt., to John Amysson of Longeford of a cottage, garden and croft near the mill of Longeford and Bubbedon, for term of his life, with remainder to Richard, John's son; rent, 2s. silver p.a. and certain services, doing suit to Longford mill and court. 14 May 1397. Seal, heral. (worn). (Jeayes 1584 dates from Dunstan's ordination.)

215. Gift by Robert de Dilleren to William Cook, vicar of Longford, Henry Jacson, chaplain, Henry del Wothe and Henry de Bradefeld, of all his lands and tenements in Longeford. 30 Oct. 1401. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1585.)

216. Rolls of the Great Court of Longford. 1386-2 Hen. IV. Parchment, 16 mm.

217. The same, 1401-1412. Parchment, 8 mm.

218. The same, 1415-1419. Parchment, 1 m.

219. Feoffment from Ralph de Longford, kt., to Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Ralph de Shirley, Nicholas de Mountgomery and Richard de Radclyf, kts., and Roger Venables, parson of Routhstorn, of his manors of Longford, Hathirsege and Ellaston and all other his lands, etc. in cos. Derby, Stafford, Lincoln, Notyngham and Warwik, with the remainder of all the lands which Margaret, widow of Nicholas de Longford, kt., holds for her life. 7 June 1429. Seal, heral. (Jeayes 1588.)

220. Letter of attorney to George de Longford and Nicholas de Clayton to deliver seisin of the same. 7 June 1429. Seal, heral. (Jeayes 1589.)

221. Lease for life by Ralph de Longeforde, kt., son and heir of Nicholas de Longeforde, kt., *quarti*, to Thomas del Bouke of a messuage and $2\frac{1}{2}$ bovates of land in Bubton, a field named Orchardefeld, an orchard, and a meadow formerly held by Roger Robynson, with common of pasture in Longeford and Bubton. 11 Nov. 1429. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1590 incorrectly reads "two bovates".)

222. Grant from Thomas, Bishop of Durham, Ralph Shirley, kt., Nicholas Mountgomery, kt., and Roger Venables, parson of Rowstorne (to whom the late Ralph Langeford, kt., enfeoffed the manor of Langeford), to Thomas Langeford, esq., Ralph's brother, that he may occupy the said manor and receive its revenues, in recompense for his great expences and labours on behalf of the said manor and other lands whereof they were enfeoffed by Ralph, until Nicholas, Ralph's son, arrive at full age. 12 Jan. 1433. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1592.)

223. Quitclaim by Thomas Margetson of Shirley to Thomas Longford,

esq., of all his right in all lands, etc., in Longford which formerly belonged to his aunt, Matilda Hichecokkes, whose heir he is. 12 May 1435. Seal. (Jeayes 1593.)

224. Refeoffment from Ralph Shyrley, kt., to Robert Holyngton, prior of Callewyche, and Laurence Catton, vicar of Maffelde, of all the manors, etc., which he formerly held with Thomas, late Bishop of Durham, Nicholas Mountgomery and Richard Radclyff, kts., and Roger Venables, late parson of Routhstorne, all deceased, in cos. Derby, Lancaster, Stafford, Lincoln, Notyngham and Warwic, of the feoffment of the late Ralph Longeforde, kt. 24 Nov. 1438. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1594, who refers to this as a " lease ", has, incorrectly, " Ralph Holyngton " and omits " kt." after " Shyrley ".)

225. Extract from Bishop Heyworth's register respecting the institution of John Forde to the vicarage (1441) and Thurstan Per[c]yvall to the parsonage (1442) of Longford. 17th cent.

226. Quitclaim by Robert Holynton, Prior of Calwyche, to Laurence Caton, clerk, of all right in all the manors etc. which formerly belonged to Ralph Longford, kt. Seal, fragm. 10 Sept. 1447. (Jeayes 1595.)

227. Feoffment from Nicholas Longford, kt., to John Curson, esq., Nicholas Fitzherbert, esq., John, Prior of Calwich, and William Bonyngton, esq., of his manors of Longford and Hadersege, with all his lands, etc. there and in Newton Sulney and Barleburgh, co. Derby, and Elaston, co. Staff. 14 Jan. 1460. Seal, heral. (Jeayes 1596.)

228. Letter of attorney to Henry Stokkes of Longford to deliver seisin of the same. 14 Jan. 1460. Seal, fragm.

229. Indenture between the same parties setting out the conditions for the refeoffment of the said Sir Nicholas with the same. 15 Jan. 1460. Seals missing. (Eng.)

230. Feoffment from Henry Radissh, clerk, to Nicholas Longford, esq., son and heir of Nicholas Longford, kt., of his manors of Longford, Newton Sony, Parkhall, Pynkeston, Normanton, Blakwell, Barleburgh, Kynwalmerssh, and Hadersegge, co. Derby, Baseford, co. Nott., Oreby and Wyllyngham, co. Linc., Hogh, co. Lanc., and Elaston, co. Staff., and all his lands, etc., in the same and in Bubton, Holynton, Mawmerton, Roddesley, Pillesley, Morton, Northwynfeld, Haselond, Dukmonton, Asshore and Brampton, co. Derby, Sterthorp, co. Nott., Diddesbury, Wythyngton, Rysshum and Heton, co. Lanc., and in co. Leicester. 1 June 1470. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1597.)

231. Letter of attorney to Henry Tykhill, Richard Bentley, [*blank*] Gilby and Roger Oldom to deliver seisin of the same. 1 June 1470. Seal, worn. (Jeayes 1598.)

232. The same, to John Fitzherbert and William Ryley to receive seisin of the same. 1 June 1470. Seal, fragm. (Jeayes 1599.)

233. Quitclaim by John Curson, esq., and Nicholas Fitzharbert, esq., to Nicholas Longford, esq., son and heir of Nicholas Longford, kt., of all right in the manors of Longford, Neuton Sulney and Hethersege, co. Derby, and in all lands, etc., there and elsewhere in co. Derby which they had of the feoffment of the said Nicholas Longford, kt. 12 June 1470. 2 seals (1 missing, 1 imperf.). (Jeayes 1600.)

234. Rentals of Langforth, Hathersegge, Barleburgh, Whetewell, Kynwalmershe, Dukmanton and Neweton Sulney. 1476. Parchment, 4 skins. (Cf. Jeayes 1357, 1602.)

235. Rolls of the Great Court of Longford. 1478-1482. Paper, 6 'skins' (imperf.)

236. Bond of Ralph Longford, kt., and John Fitzherbert of Norbury, co. Derby, esq., to Margaret Longford, widow, for Ralph to stand to the award of Thomas, Earl of Derby, arbitrator in a dispute respecting the will of the late Nicholas Longford, kt., his brother. 20 Nov. 1489. 2 seals, imperf. (Jeayes 1603.)

237. Accounts of Peter Pole, bailiff and collector of rents for Longford, and of John Foliambe, bailiff and collector of rents for Northwynfeld and Hathirsegge, co. Derby, and fourteen other manors. 1492-1493. Paper, 2 'skins'.

238. Accounts of Henry Longforth, bailiff and collector of rents, for Longforth, co. Derby, and Elaston, co. Staff. 1494-1495. Paper, 1 'skin'.

239. Letter of attorney from Ralph Longford, kt., to John Redisshe, John Foliambe and John Woode to receive seisin from William Davenport of Bromehall, of the manors of Longford, Newton Sulney, Morton, Barlebrugh, Hathersegge and Kynwalmershe, co. Derby, Elaston, co. Staff., Hogh, co. Lanc., and Baceford, co. Nott., and of all messuages, etc., there and in Oreby and Sowthwyllyngham, co. Linc. 2 Sept. 1502. Seal, missing.

240. Will of Ralph Longford, kt. 13 Jan. 1510/11. 2 seals, imperf. (Jeayes 1604.)

241. Feoffment from Ralph Longford of Longford, kt., to Anthony Fitzherbert, sergeant-at-law, John Fitzherbert of Norbury, Humphrey Bradburne, esq., John Bradburne and Nicholas Fitzherbert, gentleman, and Edward Redferne, perpetual vicar of Longford, of his manors of Longford, Bobton *alias* Bobynton, and Malverton, co. Derby, all messuages, etc., in the same and in Kenwelmersh, co. Derby and Baseford, co. Nott., and the advowson of Longford church. 14 Jan. 1511. Seal, worn. O.n. **(10)**

242. I.P.M. of Ralph Longford, kt. 9 June 1513. With copy of proceedings and notes relating to the same and to Longford.

He died 1 Feb. 1513, his heir being Ralph Longford, his grandson, aged 4 years and more.

243. Indenture of convenants between Anthony Fitzherbert, sergeant-at-law, and Sir John Porte of Etwall, co. Derby, respecting lands, etc., in Longford Park. 18 Nov. 1519. O.n. **(16)**

244. Articles of agreement between Geoffrey, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Ralph Longford, esq., *cosyn* and heir of Sir Ralph Longford, kt., and ward of the said Bishop. 12 Jan. 1526.

245. Indenture whereby Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, kt., one of the King's justices, exchanges lands, etc., in Longford, Roddisley and Holyngton, co. Derby, with Ralph Longford, esq. (*cosyn* and heir of the late Sir Ralph Longford and son-in-law to the said Sir Anthony), for lands, etc., in Norbury co. Derby. 6 March 1528. O.n. **(22)**

246. Release by Matilda Myners, widow of Richard Myners, and William

Myners, Richard's son and heir, to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, John Fitzherbert of Norbury, co. Derby, esq., Thomas Fitzherbert, Richard Coton, and William Marten, clerk, and Humphrey Cotton of all her right, etc., in Myners Heis in Longford parish and lands, etc., in Longford and Hollyngton, co. Derby. 9 Dec. 1528. 2 seals. O.n. (3)

247. Feoffment to uses from Ralph Longford, esq., grandson of Sir Ralph Longford, to William Basset, jun., John Sacheverell, Thomas Fitzherbert and others, of his manor of Hoghe, co. Lanc., and all his messuages, etc., in co. Lanc., his manor of Longford and all lands, etc., in Kynwalmershe, Boythorp, Creswell, Normanton, Pynkeston, Tupton and Barlebroughe, co. Derby. 10 June 1530. Seal. O.n. (24)

248. Will of Sir Ralph Longford, kt. 24 April 1534. Seal. O.n. (26)

249. Feoffment to uses from Ralph Longford, kt., to Edmund Trafford and Thomas Jarrard, esquires, John Port, son and heir of John Port, kt., Thomas Fitzherbert, son and heir of Anthony Fitzherbert, kt., and others, of all his manors, etc., in Longford, Normanton, Pynkeston, Halwyngfeld, Morton, Blackewell, Whytewell, Pyllesley, Kynnewalmarch and Hathersege, co. Derby, with other manors in cos. Lanc., Linc., Nott., Salop and Warwick, and in the Marches of Wales. 10 April 1535. Seal. (Jeayes 1605.)

250. The same from Ralph Longford, kt., to William Hollys and Thomas Fitzherbert, of all his manors, etc., in cos. Derby, Linc., Warwick, Stafford and Lancs., and in Wales and the Marches. 15 Jan. 1538. O.n. (28)

251. Lease by the above William and Thomas to the above Sir Ralph, of the same for 80 years without rent. 18 Jan. 1538. 2 seals, imperf. O.n. (27)

252. Attornment of John Longford, John Goodale, Nicholas Bankes and others, tenants of the above Sir Ralph in Longford, Shirley, Hollyngton, Roddesley and Bobton, co. Derby, to the above William and Thomas. 30 Jan. 1538. O.n. (30)

253. Similar attornment of John Allwod, Henry Watkynson, Thomas Northegge and others, tenants of the above Sir Ralph in Northwynfeld, Pyllesley, Morton, Stretton and Normanton, co. Derby. 1 Feb. 1538. O.n. (29)

254. Acknowledgement by Alexander Wright, servant to Thomas Hollys, of the receipt from William Hollys of evidences concerning certain lands of Sir Ralph Longford, kt. 24 Oct. 1543.

255. Return of John Hercye, sheriff of co. Derby, respecting the assignment of dower to Dorothy Longford, widow. 24 May 1544. Copy. O.n. (31)

256. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Ralph Browne, gentleman, against Nicholas Longforde, esq., of a messuage and land in Langforde and Bubton. 17 June 1562. Seal, missing. O.n. (32)

257. Lease for 3 lives by Nicholas Longford of Longford, esq., to Edward Goddale of Malmerton, co. Derby, yeoman, Elizabeth his wife and Robert, their son, of a messuage in the lordship of Longford. 20 Mar. 1567. Copy.

258. Exemplification of two writs of Jan. 1574 on behalf of William

Basset, esq., and Thomas Fitzherbert, gentleman, against Nicholas Longford, esq., respecting the manors of Longford, Northwyngfelde, Morton and Pynkeston and messuages, etc., there and elsewhere in co. Derby. 12 June 1574. Seal, imperf. O.n. **(34)**

259. *A Note of Mr. [Nicholas] Longford's Evidences.* 31 Mar. 1582.

260. Bargain and sale by Nicholas Longford of Longford, esq., to William Loveday of London, gentleman, of the messuage named Woodhowse with closes. 1 Dec. 1585. Seal. O.n. **(37)**. With copy (O.n. **(56)**.)

261. Reconveyance from the above William to the above Nicholas of the same. 10 Dec. 1585. Seal. O.n. **(38)**

262. Final concord between Thomas Hurte and William Smythe, gentlemen, plaintiffs, and Nicholas Langford, esq., deforciant, respecting 2 messuages and land in Longford, Bubton and Mammerton. Octaves of Purification, 1586. O.n. **(36)**

263. Indenture of covenants between Nicholas Longforde of Longforde, esq., and Samuel Love of Sevenock, co. Kent, esq., for the levying of a fine respecting Longforde Parke. 10 Dec. 1586. Seal. With counterpart.

264. Articles of agreement between Nicholas Langeforde of Longeforde, esq., and Humphrey Dethicke of Newhall, co. Derby, esq., respecting the manor of Longeforde. 21 Jan. 1589. O.n. **(39)**

265. Mortgage by Nicholas Longford, esq., to Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, of the messuage named Woodhouse, with closes. 5 May 1591. Seal. O.n. **(40)**, **(41)**

266. Bargain and sale by William Loveday of London, gentleman, at the instance of Nicholas Longford, esq., to James Stuffine and Anthony Nevill, both of Kirkbye Bellers, co. Leic., gentlemen, of the messuage called Woodhouse, with closes. 10 May 1594. Seal. O.n. **(45)**

267. Bargain and sale by Samuel Love of Sevenock, co. Kent, esq., at the instance of Nicholas Longford, esq., to James Stuffine and Anthony Nevill, gentlemen, of Longford Park with appurtenances. 17 June 1594. Seal. O.n. **(48)**

268. Release by Sir John Hollis of Howghton, co. Nott., kt., and Thomas Fitzherbert of Norbury, co. Derby, esq., to Nicholas Longford of Longford, esq., of all their right, etc., in the manor of Longford. 16 July 1594. O.n. **(47)**

269. Indenture tripartite respecting an assurance of Longforde to Margaret Markham and of Hough to Sir Robert Cecil. 30 July 1595. 5 seals.

270. Letter of attorney from Robert Cecill, kt., Hugh Beeston, Michael Hicks and Humphrey Flint, to Anthony Latham and James Stuffine, gentlemen, to receive seisin from Nicholas Longforde, esq., of Longforde manor and lands, etc., in co. Derby. 9 Aug. 1595. 4 seals. O.n. **(51)**

271. Feoffment to uses from Nicholas Longford, esq., to the above Sir Robert, Hugh, Michael and Humphrey of Longford manor, the advowson of Longford church, and messuages, etc., in co. Derby. 20 Aug. 1595. O.n. **(52)**

272. Final concord respecting the same. Oct. of Mich., 1595. O.n. **(53)**

273. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Markham of Kirkeby Belleres, co. Leic., esq., of the one part, and John Brudenell of Deene, co. Northampton, esq., William Skipwith, esq., Francis Harington and others, of the other, respecting the same. 11 Aug. 1596. O.n. **(54)**. With counterpart. O.n. **(55)**

274. *Lands intailed to the Auncesters of Nicholas Longford.* n.d. [early 17th cent.] In Chief Justice Coke's hand.

275. *A Rentall of the demeanes of Langford.* n.d. [early 17th cent.] Parchment, 1 skin.

276. Longford court rolls, 1536-1601 *passim.* Paper, 25 'skins'.

277. Induction of Robert Smithe, M.A., clerk, into the rectory of Longforde. 28 Jan. 1602. Seal, large fragm.

278. Bargain and sale by Sir Thomas Gerrard, kt., to Michael Jenyson of Etwall, co. Derby, esq., of the water-mill called the New Mylne in Langforde parish and a cottage and land there. 19 June 1604. Seal.

279. Letter of attorney to Thomas Phillipps of Derby, gentleman, to deliver seisin of the same. 19 June 1604. Seal, imperf. O.n. **(97)**

280. Indenture of covenants between Nicholas Longeforde of Longforde, esq., and his wife Margaret, of the one part, and Edward Pole the elder of Radburne, co. Derby, esq., Richard Alport of Derbie, gentleman, Anthony Nevile of Allerton, co. Nott., gentleman, and Francis Harris of Ashbiefolvill, co. Leic., yeoman, of the other, respecting the entailing of the manor of Longforde, messuages, etc., there and in Bubington, Thurvaston, Mamerton, Sherley, Hollington, Rodesley and Ardesley, co. Derby, and the advowson of Longforde rectory. 12 July 1606. O.n. **(61)**. With counterpart. O.n. **(64)**

281. Conveyance from the above Nicholas and Margaret to the above Edward Pole and Richard Alport, of the same. 20 July 1606. 2 seals, imperf. O.n. **(62)**. With counterpart. 2 seals. O.n. **(63)**

282. Abstract of evidences relating to lands of Sir Ralph and Nicholas Longford. n.d. [c. 1606.]

283. Final concord between Edward Pole, sen., esq., and Richard Alporte, gentleman, plaintiffs, and Nicholas Longforde, esq., and his wife Margaret, respecting the manor, etc., concerned in 281 above. Oct. of Hilary, 1607. O.n. **(65)**. With counterpart.

284. Conditional assignment from Edward Pudsey of Abington, Berks, gentleman, to Nicholas Longford of Longford, esq., and his wife Margaret, of his messuage named Ardesley in Longford parish, with appurtenances. 1 June 1607. Seal. O.n. **(67)**. With counterpart. 2 seals, missing. O.n. **(68)**

285. Exemplification of a recovery by Anthony Nevill, gentleman, and Francis Harris against Edward Pole, sen., esq., and Richard Alport, gentleman, of the manor of Longforde, messuages, etc., there and in Bubington, Thurvaston, Mamerton, Sherley, Hollington, Rodesley and Ardesley, view of frankpledge in Longforde, and the advowson of Longforde church. 25 June 1607. Seal, missing. O.n. **(69)**. With copy.

286. Indenture of covenants between Nicholas Longford of Longford, esq., and his wife Margaret, of the first part, Sir Francis Smyth of Asheby Fovell, co. Leic., kt., and Thomas Brudenell of Deene, co. Northampton, esq., of the second, and Nicholas Strynger and Robert Thomlinson, gentlemen, of the third, for the entailing of the same. 21 May 1610. 4 seals (1 missing, 2 imperf.). O.n. (70). With copy. 4 seals (1 missing). O.n. (71)

287. Final concord between the above Sir Francis and Thomas, plaintiffs, and the above Nicholas and Margaret, deforciants, respecting the same. Quin. of Trinity, 1610. O.n. (72). With counterpart.

288. Exemplification of a recovery by Anthony Nevill and Francis Harris against Edward Pole, sen., and Richard Alport, of the above manor, messuages, etc. 9 Oct. 1611. Seal missing. O.n. (73)

289. Deposition in a case between the Attorney General, plaintiff, and Margaret Longford, widow, and George Markham, gentleman, defendants, respecting the manor and lordship of Longford. 27 April 1612.

290. Final concord between Alexander Buckley, plaintiff, and John Langford, deforciant, respecting a moiety of a messuage and land in Longford, Mamerton and Bubton. Oct. of Mich., 1612.

291. Orders of the Court of Wards and Liveries in a case concerning Margaret Longford. 1608-1615. 25 items.

292. Final concord between Edward Coke, kt., Chief Justice, Thomas Coventrye, esq., and John Pepys, esq., and John Pepys, gentleman, plaintiffs, and Margaret Longford, widow, George Markham, Thomas Markham and Katherine Rediche, widow, deforciants, respecting the manor of Longforde, messuages, etc., in Longforde, Bubington, Thurvaston, Mamerton, Sherley, Hollington, Rodesley and Ardesley, view of frankpledge in Longforde and the advowson of Longforde church. 3 weeks from Trinity, 1615. O.n. (75). With counterpart.

293. Articles of agreement between Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, John Hacker, esq., Margaret Langford, widow of the late Nicholas Langford, George Markham, Charles Markham and Thomas Markham, of the one part, and the Rt. Hon. Sir Edward Coke, kt., Lord Chief Justice, of the other, for the sale of the manor of Longford and messuages, etc., in Longford, Mamerton, Bubton, Thurweston, Hollington, Sherley, Ardessley or elsewhere in co. Derby. 5 July 1615.

294. Bargain and sale by Margaret Longford (widow of Nicholas Longford), George Markham, Charles Markham, and Thomas Markham, her brothers, and Katherine Rediche, to Sir Edward Coke, Thomas Coventrye and John Pepys, of the manor and lordship of Longford, the advowson of the church, the capital messuage called Woodhouse there, Longford Park and closes in Longford parish, and all those messuages, etc., in Malmerton, Bubton, Thurvaston, Shirley, Hollington, Rodeslye and Ardeslye which were formerly part of the possession of the said Nicholas Longford, deceased. 6 July 1615. 5 seals (1 missing). O.n. (77). With copy, O.n. (78)

295. Release by the same to the same of the same. 20 Oct. 1615. 4 seals. O.n. (81)

296. *My lord's notes touching Longford.* n.d. [c. 1615.] Paper, 3 ff. In Chief Justice Coke's hand.

297. Plea of recovery by Henry Gawdye, kt., and John Walter, esq., against Sir Edward Coke, Lord Chief Justice, Thomas Coventrye, esq., and John Pepys, gentleman, of the manor of Lonforde [*sic*], messuages, etc., there and in Bubington, Thurvaston, Mamerton, Sherley, Hollington, Rodesley and Ardesley, view of frankpledge in Longforde, and the advowson of Longforde church. Mich., 1615. Copy.

298. Bargain and sale by Michael Jenyson of Etwall, co. Derby, esq., to Francis Coke of Trusley, co. Derby, esq., of his water-mill called the New Milne and a cottage and land, all in Langford parish. 29 Mar. 1619. Seal.

299. Letter of attorney from the same to William Langford of Mammerton, co. Derby, and Nicholas Holme of Langford, yeoman, to deliver seisin of the same. 29 Mar. 1619. Seal.

300. Extract from a Recusant Roll relating to Mary Alte of Bubton and Thomas Whalley of Langford. 1620.

301. Bond of indemnity of Katherine Redishe, widow, and Clement Coke, esq., to William Smith, kt. 15 June 1621.

302. Release by John Curzon of Kedlaston, co. Derby, esq., and Mary Pollett, daughter of Peter Pollett, late of Rodsley, co. Derby, deceased, to Thomas Cliffe of Snelston, co. Derby, yeoman, of their right, etc., in 4 closes in Langford and Rodsley. 15 Sept. 1621. 2 seals, missing.

303. Bargain and sale from John Godbold of Grayes Inn, co. Middx., to Sir Francis Coke of Trussley, co. Derby, kt., and Clement Coke of the Inner Temple, co. Middx., esq., of the Newe Mill, a cottage and land in Longeford parish. 30 Nov. 1621. Seal, missing.

304. Settlement after the marriage of Clement Coke, esq., youngest son of Sir Edward Coke, kt., and Sarah, a daughter and heir of Alexander Redich, late of Redich, co. Lanc., esq. 23 Dec. 1622. O.n. **(49)**. With duplicate.

305. Final concord between Francis Coke, kt., and Henry Curson, esq., plaintiffs, and Edward Coke, kt., Thomas Coventrye, kt., John Pepys, gentleman, and Robert Bulleyn, gentleman, respecting the manors of Longford, co. Derby, Wersted, Bournehall and Pannington, co. Suffolk, the advowson of Longford church, and messuages, etc., in cos. Derby and Suffolk. Morrow of Purification, 1623. Copy. O.n. **(51)**. With an abstract of the same.

306. Exemplification of the above final concord. 6 Feb. 1623. Seal, large fragm. O.n. **(53)**

307. Will of Sir Edward Coke. 10 Nov. 1623. With *Requests to my executors, 27° Nov.* Copy.

308. Affidavit of Thomas Pritty that he has delivered notice to Sir Edward Coke touching the settling of a certain lease. 22 Nov. 1624.

309. Memorandum of an obligation of Dame Grace Darcy, widow, to Clement Coke, esq. n.d. [c. 1624].

310. Estreats from Longford court rolls. March and Oct., 1625. Paper, 2 ' skins '.

311. Articles of agreement between John Stubbe of the Inner Temple, London, esq., and Clement Coke of Longford, esq., respecting a presentation to the rectory of Longford. 20 Nov. 1628. With copy.

312. Similar articles between the same parties. 19 June 1629. Copy.

313. Bond of John Stubbe(s) for performance of the above. 19 June 1629. Seal.

314. Assignment from John Bulkley, gentleman, to Thomas Heacock of Ashe, co. Derby, yeoman, of a lease for 3 lives of the Foulde Yarde House in Bubton. 31 July 1629.

315. Grant by Edward Coke, kt., to William Swayne, yeoman, of the next presentation to the parish church of Langford *alias* Longford. 4 Clarles I [1628/9]. Draft.

316. Record of a plea of Thomas Stedman against William Booth and William Swayne. 4 Charles I [1628/9].

317. Extract from a Recusant Roll relating to Nicholas Longford and Margaret Longford. 1631.

318. Feoffment from Thomas, Lord Brudenell and Robert Huett of Anthill, co. Bedford, esq., to John Peate of Bubton, co. Derby, husbandman, of a messuage in Bubton and land in the meadows of Langford, Bubton and Thurvaston. 30 May 1634. 2 seals. O.n. **(98)**

319. Record from a Pell of Receipt of expenses incurred by Edward Coke of Langford, bart., in the King's service. 30 Dec. 1641.

320. Writ of aid for Edward Coke, bart., sheriff of co. Derby. 31 Jan. 1646. Seal.

321. Bond of Henry Agard, John Agard and Robert Watts, yeomen, to Edward Coke, bart., sheriff of co. Derby, respecting the appointment of the said Henry as keeper of all prisoners arrested by or in the name of the said Sir Edward. 26 May 1646.

322. Quietus for Edward Coke, bart., sheriff of co. Derby from Mich. 1645 to Mich. 1646.

323. Writ to Edward Coke, bart., late sheriff of co. Derby, on the appointment of his successor, Michael Burton. 24 Dec. 1646. Seal, missing.

324. *Note of Longford leases and the estates thereby graunted and what are in being.* 1648.

325. Assignment by Katherine Heacock of Bupton, co. Derby, to John Higgs of the same, baker, of a lease for 3 lives of the Fould Yard House in Bupton. 22 Oct. 1649. Seal, missing.

326. Memorandum of an exchange of lands in Bubton between John Merryman of Bubton, co. Derby, husbandman, and Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart. 6 Dec. 1649. O.n. **(86)**

327. The same, between Sir Edward Coke and William Browne of Neather Thurvaston, co. Derby, yeoman. 27 Dec. 1649. O.n. **(87)**

328. Presentation to Nathaniel Brent, kt., doctor of laws, by Edward Coke, bart., patron of the vicarage of Longford, of Samuel Richards, clerk, appointed to the said vicarage. 18 June 1650. Copy.

329. Order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers that Roger Jackson, minister of the Word, be established as rector of Langford, upon relinquishing the rectory of Dalbury, co. Derby. 1 July 1652. Copy.

330. Appointment by Sir Edward Coke, patron, of Roger Jacson as rector of Longford, in succession to Dr. Stubbs, resigned. 8 July 1652. Copy.

331. Appointment by the same of Anthony Huxley, minister of the Gospel, as vicar of Longford in succession to Samuel Richards, removed to the rectory of Hartshorne, co. Derby. 3 Nov. 1653. True copy.

332. Amercements at the court baron of Sir Edward Coke, bart., for the manor of Longford. 1649-1654. Paper, 10 'skins'.

333. Exemplification of 297 above. 6 June 1656. Seal, missing. O.n. (82)

334. Will of Laurence Cliffe of Boyley Cosses in Longford parish, yeoman. 10 Dec. 1658. True copy.

335. Assignment by John Higgs of Bubton, baker, to Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart., of the lease assigned by 325 above. 6 June 1660. Seal, fragm.

336. Codicil to the Will (dated 21 June 1661) of John Coke, esq. 10 Aug. 1661. True copy.

337. Presentment to John, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, by Edward Coke, bart., patron of the rectory of Longford, of Roger Jacson, clerk, M.A., appointed to the said rectory. 5 Aug. 1662. True copy.

338. Assignment by Francis Neale of Longford, husbandman, to Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart., of a lease for 3 lives of a cottage with appurtenances in Longford. 7 Nov. 1662.

339. Articles of agreement previous to a marriage between Robert Coke, esq., son and heir of Sir Edward Coke of Langford, bart., and Sarah Barker, spinster, a daughter and coheir of Thomas Barker, late of Adbrightlee, co. Salop., esq., deceased. 2 Dec. 1663.

340. Will of Sir Edward Coke of Langford, bart. 18 Jan. 1664. Probate, 17 Nov. 1669. Seal, missing.

341. Settlement after the marriage of Robert Coke, son and heir of Sir Edward Coke, and Sarah, a daughter and coheir of the late Thomas Barker, esq. 29 Jan. 1664. Endorsed: *Never Executed.*

342. Settlement after the marriage of the above Robert Coke and Sarah his wife. 27 Mar. 1667. 4 seals, missing. O.n. (**89**) and (*No.* 6). With copy.

343. Final concord between John Byrche, gentleman, and Edward Byrche, esq., plaintiffs, and Edward Coke, bart., Katherine his wife and Robert Coke, esq., defendants, respecting Longford manor and messuages, etc., in Longford, Bubbington, Malmerton, Shirley, Hollington, Rodsley and Ardersley. 3 weeks from Mich., 1667. With an abstract of the same.

344. Extract of a plea of recovery by Thomas Jone, esq., and Richard Taylor, gentleman, against John Birch and Edward Birch, of the same manor, etc. Mich., 1667.

345. Abstract of evidences concerning estates of the Cokes in cos. Derby and Suffolk. 1622-1667. Paper, 2 ff.

346. Lease by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, bart., to Edward Longford of Longford, yeoman, of a messuage in Longford for 99 years, if Edward or William Longford, his father, live so long. 16 April 1670. Seal, missing. With counterpart.

347. Indenture between Sir Robert Coke of Longford, bart., and John Bagnold of Derby, gentleman, whereby the former appoints the latter his under-sheriff. 29 Feb. 1672.

348. Writ to Robert Cooke, bart., late sheriff of co. Derby on the appointment of his successor, John Gell, bart. 8 Nov. 1672. Seal, fragment.

349. Quietus for Robert Cooke, bart., sheriff of co. Derby from Mich. 1671 to Mich. 1672. 4 June 1674.

350. Defeasance of a Statute Merchant whereby Sir Robert Coke of Longford, bart., is bound to John Lloyd of the parish of St. Pauls, Covent Garden, co. Middx., esq. 7 Dec. 1674.

351. Bargain and sale by Robert Peate of Bubton, yeoman, his wife Margaret and his mother Elizabeth Wallis of Bubton, to Gervase Brough, gentleman, of a messuage in Bubton, with land, and common of pasture on Bubton Greene, Langford Greene, Langford Moore, Culland Greene and Culland Moore, and in Thurvaston. 14 Feb. 1677. Attached is Robert's receipt for the consideration money involved. 19 Sept. 1677.

352. Final concord between Gervase Brough, gentleman, plaintiff, and Robert Peate and Margaret, his wife, deforciants, respecting the same. 3 weeks from Mich., 1677. With counterpart.

353. Lease for possession by Gervase Brough, gentleman, to Mark Hope of Kedlaston, co. Derby, clerk, of a moiety of a messuage in Bubton and land in Langford, Bubton and Thurvaston, all in the tenure of Robert Peate. 9 Nov. 1677. With counterpart.

354. Release by the same to the same of the same. 13 Nov. 1677. With counterpart.

355. Receipt of Sir Robert Coke of Longford, bart., to Roger Jacson of the parish of St. Martins in the Fields, co. Middx., gentleman, and Richard Mulys of the same, esq., for consideration money involved in indentures between them bearing the same date. 11 Feb. 1677/78.

356. Award of Sir Robert Coke in a dispute between Leonard Sadd of Derby, apothecary, and John Moore of Shirley, co. Derby, gentleman. n.d. [c. Feb. 1678.] Imperf.

357. Order of court in North *v.* Alsop, that their differences be referred to the arbitrament of Sir Robert Coke. 11 Mar. 1678. Copy.

358. Miscellaneous letters and papers touching estates of the Cokes in Norfolk and Suffolk. 1675-*c.*1680. 16 items.

359. Grant by Sir Robert Coke to James Clarke, clerk, and his wife Mary of an annuity issuing from a messuage in Longford parish. 1 Jan. 1681/2. Counterpart.

360. Lease for possession by Sir Robert Coke to William Browne of Thurvaston, co. Derby, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Bubton *alias* Bubbington. 28 Sept. 1683.

361. Will of Anne Coke, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, late of Longford, bart, deceased. 25 April 1684. Codicil, 7 July 1684. Probate, 24 Sept. 1684.

362. Renunciation of letters of administration of the goods, etc., of Doyley Dyer, late of Langford, deceased, by Dame Katherine Coke, his sister. 5 Dec. 1684. Copy.

363. Receipt of Dame Katherine Coke of Langford, widow, to Edward Coke of Great Staughton, co. Hunt., for consideration money concerned in indentures between them bearing the same date. 6 Dec. 1684.

364. General release by the same to the same. 6 Dec. 1684.

365. *The accompts of Humphrey Waring for Mich.* 1684 and *The accompt of what I had out of Lady Day rent* 1685. Paper. 1 f.

366. Assignment by Edward Longford, gentleman, for consideration money paid him by Sir Robert Coke, to William Lee, on behalf of the said Sir Robert, of the lease concerned in 346 above. 31 Jan. 1684/5. Seal, missing.

367. Bond for performance of the above. 31 Jan. 1684/5.

368. Receipt of the above Edward to the above Sir Robert for the above consideration money. 31 Jan. 1648/5.

369. Grant by Sir Robert Coke to James Clarke of Fitz., co. Salop, of an annuity issuing from a messuage in Longford lately held by Edward Longford ; for 99 years, if Robert Clarke, James's son, live so long. 10 Mar. 1684/5. Counterpart.

370. Appointment by Robert, Earl of Scarsdale, Lieutenant for co. Derby, of Sir Robert Coke, bart., as Deputy Lieutenant. 20 Mar. 1684/5.

371. Appointment by the same of the same as Captain of a Company of Foot in the Trained Bands in co. Derby. 20 Mar. 1684/5. O.n. **(105)**

372. Final concord between William Fitzherbert, esq., and Edward Warder, esq., plaintiffs, and Robert Coke, bart., deforciant, respecting the manor of Longford and messuages, etc. there and in Mamerton, Thurvaston and Hollington and the advowson of Longford church. 3 weeks from Trinity, 1685. O.n. **(96)**. With counterpart and abstract.

373. Note of expenses in a case between Morton and others and Coke, bart., and others. Hilary, 1685/6.

374. Mortgage by Sir Robert Coke of Langford, bart., to Sir John Curzon of Kedlaston, co. Derby, kt., of messuages, etc. in Langford and all other his lands, etc., in Langford not settled in jointure on Dame Katherine Coke, widow, his mother. 27 Mar. 1686. Seal, missing. With counterpart. (Endorsed : *Cancelled.*)

375. Receipt for the consideration money mentioned in the same. 27 Mar. 1686.

376. Bond of Thomas Stubbs of Longford to Sir Robert Coke, bart., for performance of covenants. 20 April 1686.

377. Indenture of covenants between the above Sir Robert Coke and Sir John Curzon respecting the above mortgage [374]. 29 Sept. 1686.

378. Indenture declaring 2 fines levied by Sir Robert Coke to William Fitzherbert of Tissington, co. Derby, esq., and Edward Warder of St. James's parish, Westminster, esq., of all his lands, etc., in co. Derby and the County Palatine of Lancaster, to have been levied to the only use of the said Sir Robert. 29 Nov. 1686. O.n. **(95)**. With duplicate.

379. Will of Dame Katherine Coke, widow of Sir Edward Coke, late of Longford, deceased. 17 Dec. 1686. With duplicate. (Endorsed : *Revoked.*)

380. Two acknowledgements by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, bart., to Roger Jacson of the parish of St. Clement Danes, co. Middx., gentleman, and Richard Mulys of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, co. Middx., esq., respecting consideration money mentioned in indentures between them bearing the same date. 14 Feb. 1686/7.

381. Lease for 7 years by Sir Robert Coke, bart., to Thomas Stubbs of Longford, innholder, of a messuage and closes in Longford parish. 20 Mar. 1687. Counterpart.

382. Will of Robert Coke of Langford, bart. 23 April 1687. 2 undated codicils. Probate, 4 July 1689. With copy, endorsed (*No.* 12.)

383. Will of Dame Katherine Coke, widow of Sir Edward Coke, late of Longford, bart. 1 Dec. 1688. Copy.

384. Bargain and sale by Thomas Haywood the elder of Bupton, yeoman, and his son and heir Thomas Haywood the younger to Josiah Bullock of the same, tailor, of a messuage and land in Bupton. 5 Nov. 1689.

385. Lease for 21 years by Sir Edward Coke of Langford, bart., to John Bakewell of Hollington, co. Derby, of Clubwoods (closes) in Langford. 25 Mar. 1690.

386. Similar lease to John Greaves of Hollington, co. Derby, yeoman, of a moiety of Mynors Hay (closes) in Langford. 25 Mar. 1690.

387. Similar lease to John Potter of Langford parish, butcher, of closes and land in Langford lordship. 25 March 1690.

388. Similar lease to Richard Rigley of Langford parish, cooper, of New Mill tenement and a moiety of Mynors Hey in Langford lordship. 25 March 1690.

389. Similar lease to Thomas Sherwin of Langford, husbandman, of Smythes farm and land in Langford. 25 March 1690.

390. Draft of the form of presentation to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield of the (unnamed) candidate of Edward Coke, bart., patron of the rectory of Longford, on the death of David Morton, S.T.P. 26 Aug. 1690.

391. Mortgage by Sir Edward Coke, bart., to Thomas Osborn, husband of the relict of William Brown of Nether Thurvaston, co Derby, of a farm with appurtenances in Longford. 20 Oct. 1692. Counterpart.

392. Lease for 21 years by the same to Robert Baker of Longford and Thomas Heacocke of Ash, co. Derby, husbandman, of Bakers Farm and appurtenances in Longford. 7 Dec. 1692. Counterpart.

393. Bond to Sir Edward Coke for performance of the above. 7 Dec. 1692.

394. Lease for 99 years by Sir Edward Coke to Richard Wright of Longford, gentleman, of a farm and land in Longford. 2 March 1693/4. Counterpart.

395. Bond to the above Sir Edward for performance of the above. 2 March 1693/4.

396. Lease for 21 years by Sir Edward Coke to John Mellor of Longford, wheelwright, of a farm and land in Longford. 27 Oct. 1693. Counterpart. Enclosed is a bond for performance.

397. Lease for 99 years by the same to Thomas Hudson of Nunfeild House in Trusley parish, co. Derby, husbandman, of a tenement in Longford, part of Woodhouse Farm. 28 Oct. 1693. Counterpart.

398. Bond to the above Sir Edward for performance of the above. 28 Oct. 1693.

399. Lease for 21 years by the same to Joseph Hatton of Thurvaston, co. Derby, labourer, of land in Longford parish. 5 Feb. 1694.

400. Mortgage by Robert Heald, yeoman, and his wife, Jane, to Dorothy Holme of Hollington, co. Derby, widow, of a farm and 6 closes in Langford parish. 19 June 1694.

401. Final concord between Dorothy Holme, widow, plaintiff, and Robert Heald and his wife Jane, deforciants, respecting a messuage and land with appurtenances in Langford and Rodsley, co. Derby. 3 weeks from Trinity, 1694. With counterpart.

402. Lease for 21 years by Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart., to Robert Lambert of Thurvaston, co. Derby, labourer, of land in Longford parish. 26 March 1695. With counterpart.

403. Similar lease to Charles Gregson of Bubton, labourer. 28 March 1695. With counterpart.

404. Similar lease to George Foone of Longford, cooper. 3 April 1695. Counterpart.

405. Assignment by Joseph Calton of Hollington, co. Derby, yeoman, and his wife Dorothy (heretofore Dorothy Holme, widow), to George Wagstaffe of Haunton, co. Staff., yeoman, and Anne Wagstaffe of the same, spinster, of the above mortgage [400]. 26 Sept. 1695.

406. Indenture of defeasance between the above George and Anne Wagstaffe, of the one part, and Robert Heald of Lea Grange, co. Leic., yeoman, of the other, respecting the same. 27 Sept. 1695.

407. Release by Thomas Heywood of Bubton, yeoman, to Josiah Bullock of Langford, tailor, of a house and land in Bubton and Thurvaston, co. Derby. 20 Nov. 1695.

408. Lease for 21 years by Sir Edward Coke, bart., to Peter Prince of Longford, husbandman, of Rydeings Farm and land in Longford parish. 1 Jan. 1696. With counterpart.

409. Conveyance from Charles Hope of Clements Inne, co. Middx., gentleman, and John Hope of Derby, doctor of physic, to Samuel Brough of Castle Dunington, co. Leic., clerk, of a moiety of Bullock's Farm and land in Langford, Bubton and Thurvaston, co. Derby. 22 and 23 May 1698.

410. Bargain and sale by Samuel Brough of Castle Donnington, co. Leic., clerk, and his wife Mary, Grace Brough, widow, Josiah Brough, gentleman, and his wife Elizabeth, and Nathaniel Brough of Derby, gentleman, to Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart., of a messuage in Bubton and land in Longford, Bubton and Thurvaston, all in the holding of Josiah Bullocke, with common of pasture on Bubton Green, Longford Green and Moor, Culland Green and Moor, and in Thurvaston. 29 Sept. 1698.

411. Final concord between Edward Coke, bart., Richard Wright, William Burton and John Adams, plaintiffs, and Charles Lathbury and his wife Sarah, Joseph Calton and his wife Dorothy, Samuel Brough and his wife Mary, Grace Brough, widow, Josiah Brough and his wife Elizabeth, and Nathaniel Brough, deforciants, respecting 2 messuages, and land, etc., in the parishes of Longford, Marston super Dove, Mony Ash and Bakewell, co. Derby. 3 weeks from Trinity, 1699.

412. Heads of a parole lease by Sir Edward Coke to Peter Prince of Longford of a farm in Bubton. 15 Feb. 1700.

413. Assignment from Sampson Baker of Ashborne, co. Derby, gentle-

man, to Sir Edward Coke of Langford, bart., of a lease for 21 years of a messuage in Langford which he holds from the Master, etc., of Sir John Port's Hospital and Free School in Etwall and Repton. 28 March 1709.

414. Bond of indemnity respecting the same. 28 March 1709.

415. Lease for 21 years by William Woolley of Derby, merchant, to Thomas Dickins of Lanckford, yeoman of a house and land in Lanckford. 23 April 1709.

416. Appointment by Nicholas, Earl of Scarsdale, Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire, of Edward Coke, bart., of Longford, as a Deputy Lieutenant. 28 Dec. 1711.

417. Assignment by George Wagstaffe of Haunton, co. Staff., yeoman, and Anne Wagstaffe, of the same, spinster, by the appointment of Robert Heald of Wetmore, co. Staff., to Robert Jackson of Yevely, co. Derby, yeoman, of the messuage, etc., assigned in 405 above. 19 June 1712.

418. Abstracts of evidences touching estates of the Coke family in cos. Derby, Hunt., Lanc. and Suffolk. n.d. [c. 1712].

419. Note of an agreement between Charles Byrch, for Sir Edward Coke, and John Byard, respecting a lease of the Park Farm in Longford by the said Sir Edward to Richard Wright. 13 Feb. 1715.

420. *Mr. Sutton's opinion relateing to ye purchase of ye Parke Farme.* 27 Feb. 1715.

421. Depositions of Thomas Dickin and Francis Baker concerning a way through Woolley's Farm in Longford. n.d. [appar. c. 1715.]

422. General release by John Byard of Derby, surgeon, and his wife Mary to Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart. 16 March 1715/6.

423. *An Acct. of Lottery and Classes Order.* 11 June 1716. Paper, 1 f.

424. Receipt of John Byard to Sir Edward Coke, bart., for money mentioned in a bond between them. 9 July 1716.

425. Conveyance from Thomas Heywood of Bubton, yeoman, to Josiah Baker of the same, weaver, and his wife Esther (only daughter of the said Thomas), of a dwelling house with appurtenances in Bubton. 28 and 29 Sept. 1716.

426. Letters to and from Sir Edward Coke respecting a farm of William Woolley in Longford. March-July 1717. 8 items.

427. Articles of agreement between William Woolley of Derby, esq., and his son and heir William Woolley, of the one part, and Sir Edward Coke, of the other, respecting the same. 1 July 1717.

428. Conveyance from the same to the same of the same, with covenant for suffering a recovery. 27 and 28 Sept. 1717.

429. Release from Elizabeth Woolley, widow of William Woolley, citizen and haberdasher of London, to Sir Edward Coke, respecting the same. 28 Sept. 1717.

430. Letter from Joseph Hayne to [appar. Sir Edward Coke] respecting a distraint of the goods and chattels of "Tho. D." to be made at Longford. 13 Oct. 1717.

431. Certificate that Sir Edward Coke, bart., took the Oaths of Allegiance, etc., mentioned in the Statute of 1 Geo. I. 8 Oct. 1723.

432. Will of Sir Edward Coke of Longford, bart. 1 Dec. 1725. 2 copies.

433. Accounts of the executors of Sir Edward Coke, 1727-1728. Book of 11 ff.

434. Miscellaneous letters (mostly to Robert Wilmot, esq., an executor of Sir Edward Coke, bart.) and papers touching the affairs of the said Sir Edward, deceased (on 25 Aug. 1727). 1727-1728. 41 items.

435. Security from Edward Coke of Langford, esq., to indemnify the executors of Sir Edward Coke in advancing him part of the personal estate. 1 Aug. 1728.

436. Lease for 98 years by John Keeling of Longford, husbandman, to Richard Baker of the same, husbandman, of a dwelling house and croft in Longford. 28 Sept. 1730.

437. Lease for 21 years by the Master, etc., of Sir John Port's Hospital and Free School in Etwall and Repton, co. Derby, to Edward Coke of Longford, esq., of a messuage in his tenure in Longford. 20 Oct. 1731.

438. Licence from the same to the same to assign his term of years in the same. 20 Oct. 1731.

439. Note of Longford rents. n.d. [c. 1731.] Paper, 1 f.

440. Assignment by Margaret Jackson, widow of Robert Jackson, late of Yeaveley, co. Derby, yeoman, to Richard Goodwin and Lowe Mills, gentlemen, of the messuage, etc., mentioned in 417 above, in trust. 19 Nov. 1733.

441. Conveyance from Robert Heald of Norwich, apothecary, to the above Margaret Jackson, of the same. 6 and 7 Aug. 1734.

442. The same from the above Margaret Jackson to Thomas Harpur of Etwall, co. Derby, yeoman, of the same, in trust. 29 and 30 May 1738. With Thomas Gilbert's opinion on a case respecting the same.

443. Articles of agreement between the Hon. Robert Coke of Longford, esq., of the one part, and Elizabeth Baker and Ann Baker, spinsters, and Stephen Burton of the same, shoe-maker, of the other, respecting a sale to the said Robert of a dwelling house with appurtenances in Longford. 10 Sept. 1741. With two receipts relating to the same.

444. The same between Richard Chandler of Southgate, co. Middx., yeoman, and Thomas Wilkins of Longford, gentleman, for a conveyance to the latter of a close and land in Bubton. 24 Jan. 1746. With 2 copies.

445. Conveyance from the same to the Hon. Wenman Coke of Longford, esq., of the same. 20 and 21 Feb. 1752.

446. Assignment from Richard Baker of Osmaston, co. Derby, husbandman, to the Hon. Wenman Coke of Longford, esq., of the lease mentioned in 436 above. 27 July 1752.

447. Lease for 20 years by Elizabeth Gilman, minor, and Thomas Gilman, her guardian and trustee, to Wenman Coke of Longford, esq., of a farmhouse and land in Longford. 16 Aug. 1756. Endorsed: *The Green Field Farm in Longford.*

448. Papers in a case between the Hon. Wenman Coke, esq., and Nathaniel Hurd, vicar of Longford, respecting the font in Longford church and the felling of trees in the churchyard. Nov.-Dec. 1756. 9 items.

449. Lease for possession by John Milward of the Orchards, co. Staff., gentleman, to Francis Fawkes of Furnival's Inn, London, gentleman, of a farm and land in Longford parish. 3 Oct. 1757.

450. Deed between the same to lead the use of a recovery of the same. 4 Oct. 1757.

451. Mortgage by the above John Milward to Job Peacock of Ashborne, co. Derby, of the same. 30 Nov. 1757.

452. Bond to the above Job Peacock respecting the above mortgage. 30 Nov. 1757.

453. Conveyance from the above John Milward to George Brown of Ellaston, co. Staff., joiner, of the same farm and land. 24 and 25 Oct. 1759.

454. Bond for performance of the above. 25 Oct. 1759.

455. Assignment from the above Job Peacock, with the consent of the above John Milward, to Charles Brown of Wootton Park, co. Staff., yeoman (a trustee for the above George Brown), of the above mortgage (451). 25 Oct. 1759.

456. Articles of agreement between George Wright, esq., and John J'Anson, gentleman, of the first part, Washington, Earl Ferrers, of the second, and Wenman Coke of Longford, esq., of the third, for a conveyance to the last-named of Longford Green Farm and land in Longford parish. 1771. Draft.

457. The same, for a conveyance to the last-named of a messuage and land in Longford parish. 30 July 1771.

458. Bargain and sale by Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq. (eldest son of Wenman Coke, formerly called Wenman Roberts, esq., deceased), to Thomas Collingwood of Greys Inn, co. Middx., gentleman, of the manors of Longford, co. Derby, Whersted, Bournhall and Godlesford, co. Suff., Longford rectory and the right of patronage to Longford vicarage, the free warren granted by King Henry I, and messuages, etc., in cos. Derby and Suffolk, to make a tenant to the precipe for suffering two common recoveries. 20 April 1776. Attested copy.

459. Exemplification of a plea of recovery by Charles Clowes, gentleman, against Thomas Collingwood, gentleman, of Longford manor, the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of Longford, and messuages, etc., in co. Derby. 20 May 1776. Seal.

460. Bill of Wenman Coke, esq., for the Rt. Hon. the Earl Ferrers. Dec. 1776.

461. Conveyance from the Rt. Hon. Washington, Earl Ferrers and Thomas Evance of the Middle Temple, London, esq., to Thomas William Coke, esq. (eldest son and heir of the late Wenman Coke, esq.), of premises and lands in Longford parish. 25 and 26 April 1777.

462. Mortgage by John Bateman of Derby, gentleman, and Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., to Richard Wilbraham Bootle of Lathom, co. Lanc., esq., and Randle Ford of Lincolns Inn, co. Middx., esq., of the manor of Longford and messuages and lands there and elsewhere in co. Derby. 6 Aug. 1777. With counterpart.

463. Mortgage by the above Richard Wilbraham Bootle and Randle

Ford, by the direction of Thomas William Coke, to the Rev. Robert Carter Thelwall of Redborne, co. Linc., D.D., of the same. 28 May 1784.

464. Transfer by Charlotte Carter Thelwall of Redborne, co. Linc., spinster (infant daughter and heir of the Rev. Robert Carter Thelwall, deceased), and Thomas William Coke, esq., to Samuel Crompton of Derby, esq., of the above mortgage [463]. 8 and 9 May 1789. With bond respecting the same.

465. Award of Samuel Wyatt of Burton upon Trent, co. Staff., and John Beighton of Hazzlewood, co. Derby, gentlemen, respecting a division and enclosure of certain commons, common meadows and common fields in Longford parish. 14 Oct. 1789.

466. Lease for 21 years by the Corporation of Etwall Hospital and Repton School, co. Derby, to Edward Coke of Longford, esq., of a messuage in Longford and land in the lordships of Longford and Bupton. 4 Nov. 1789.

467. Indenture between the above Thomas William Coke and the above Samuel Crompton charging estates of the former with a further sum of £8,000 and interest. 24 Nov. 1789. With bond respecting the same.

468. Assignment and release from the Rt. Hon. George, Lord Kinnaird to William Morland of Upper Grosvenor St., co. Middx., esq., and Sir James Pulteney, bart., of a mortgage on estates of Thomas William Coke, esq., in co. Derby. 11 April 1795.

469. Assignment from Joseph Allen, farmer, and his wife Anne, and Hannah Limer, spinster, by the direction of George Brown of Ellaston, co. Staff., farmer, to John Leaper Newton, esq., a trustee of Edward Coke of Longford, esq., of a term of years in a messuage and land in Longford parish. 5 April 1796.

470. Conveyance from George Brown the elder of Ellaston, co. Staff., farmer, to Edward Coke, esq., of the same. 4 and 5 April 1796.

471. Survey of the manors of Longford, co. Derby, Bowinhall and Whersted Hall Farm, co. Suff., and other Suffolk properties of the Coke family. n.d. [18th cent.] Book of 18 ff.

472. Deed of covenants between Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., and William Lygon of Madresfield, co. Worc., esq. 10 Jan. 1801. Draft.

473. Mortgage by William Morland and Sir James Pulteney, at the request of George, Lord Kinnaird, his wife Elizabeth, Lady Kinnaird, and Thomas William Coke, to William Lygon, of Longford manor and rectory, and messuages, etc., there and elsewhere in co. Derby. 9 and 10 June, 1801. Abstract.

474. Conveyance from Edward Coke of Longford, esq., to Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., of the messuage, etc., conveyed by 470 above. 8 and 9 Dec. 1801.

475. *Weekly Accompt Book.* 1792-1805. The accounts are settled by Charles Warren, Thomas Roche, Frederick Sisson and Thomas Robinson.

476. Licence from the Corporation of Etwall Hospital and Repton School, co. Derby, to Edward Coke of Longford, to lease a messuage and land in Longford which he rents from the said Corporation. 13 Nov. 1809.

477. Copy of correspondence between George Joy, George Barker, William Colhoun, William Tooke and others, for Edward Coke, esq., at Longford, respecting certain creditors. 11 April-6 May 1818.

478. Grant by Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., to his nephew, Thomas William Coke the younger of Longford, esq., of an annuity issuing out of hereditaments in Longford parish. 6 June 1818.

479. Indenture of exchange by Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., of land in Hollington township, co. Derby, with the Rev. Wenman Henry Langton, D.D., Rector of Longford, for land in the township and parish of Longford. 9 and 10 Aug. 1819.

480. Similar exchange between the same parties. 18 and 19 Aug. 1819.

481. Quietus for Edward Coke, esq., sheriff of co. Derby, for the year ending Mich. 1819.

482. Mortgage by Thomas William Coke of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., to the Hon. Edward Pyndar Lygon of St. James's Square, co. Middx., of 2 messuages with appurtenances in Longford and land, etc., there and elsewhere in co. Derby. 29 and 30 June 1820. With copy.

483. Bond to the above Edward Pyndar Lygon respecting the same. 30 June 1820.

484. Mortgage by the above Thomas William Coke to the Hon. Henry Beauchamp Lygon of St. James's Square, co. Middx., of 5 messuages with appurtenances and land in Longford and elsewhere in co. Derby. 29 and 30 June 1820. With copy.

485. Bond to the above Henry Beauchamp Lygon respecting the same. 30 June 1820.

486. Lease for a year by Thomas William Coke, of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., to Edward Coke of Longford, esq., of a close in Longford parish. 10 Mar. 1821.

487. Conveyance from Thomas William Coke the elder of Holkham, co. Norf., esq., to his nephew Thomas William Coke the younger of Longford, esq., of a close at Longford for the joint lives of the 2 parties. 12 Mar. 1821.

488. Assignment from the above Henry Beauchamp Lygon to the trustees of the settlement upon his intended marriage with the Hon. Susan Caroline Eliot, spinster, of the above mortgage [484]. 5 and 6 July 1824. With an abstract of the title of the said trustees respecting the same.

489. Reconveyance from the Hon. Edward Pyndar Lygon to Thomas William Coke, of hereditaments mortgaged by indentures of 29 and 30 June 1820. [482 above.] 28 Jan. 1829. With two drafts and a letter respecting the same.

490. Reconveyance from the Hon. Henry Beauchamp Lygon to the same, of the hereditaments mortgaged to him by indentures of 29 and 30 June 1820. [484 above.] 4 Feb. 1831. With two drafts and a letter and bill respecting the same.

491. Revocation of former appointment and new appointment by Edward Coke of Longford Hall, esq., of sums provided for his children by his marriage settlement. 5 Nov. 1831. Copies.

492. Will of Edward Coke of Longford Hall, esq. 10 May 1831.

493. Letter from Bayley and Janson to John Barber, esq., touching a deed of covenants concerning the Hon. Mr. Coke. 24 June 1846.

494. Record of the marriage of Edward Keppel Wentworth Coke and Diana Mary Blanche Georgina Agar-Ellis. 5 Aug. 1851.

495. Documents respecting the erection of a new vicarage house in Longford. 1852. 4 items.

MAMMERTON, CO. DERRY

496. Gift by Nigel, lord of Langeford to Roger de Mercinton' and his wife Eleanor, of the whole vill of Malmerton with appurtenances, for their lives, at a rent of 3s. silver p.a. ; Roger and Eleanor and all their men to be quit of suits of court and mills unless they wish to grind at his mill *et tunc molent propinquiores illi cuius bladum invenerint super molendinum infra molas ad molendum*, giving the twenty-fourth grain for grinding ; to be quit also of pannage unless they have an abundance of mast in his woods and then they are to pay 1d. for each pig more than a year old ; with clauses respecting damage done by the beasts of the said grantees and the right of them and their men to build and enclose within Malmerton fee. *Hiis testibus Dominis Petro de Bakepuys, Henrico de Braylusford, Jacobo de Scyrleye, militibus, Roggero Durdent, Johanne le Foun, Hugone de Scyrleye, Thome Meuerel, Willelmo de Langeford et aliis.* n.d. [c. 1300.] Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1629.)

497. Gift by Thomas, son of Richard de Alkemunton to Richard de Pountfreyt of a piece of cultivated land named le Flyteneflat lying between Malmerton and Alkemunton field. 4 June 1303. Imperf. Seal, missing. (Jeayes 1630.)

498. Gift by William, son of Richard de Pounfreyt to Walter le Harper of Shirley of all his tenements in Malmerton, for life ; rent, 10s. p.a. for the first 17½ years, and then 100s. p.a. during Walter's life. 29 Mar. 1342. Seal, worn. (Fr.)

499. Lease by William, son of Richard de Pountfreit to Nicholas de Longeforde of all his lands and tenements in Malmerton (except the hall and the chamber adjoining thereto), for life ; rent, 2 marcs p.a. for the first 40 years and then 4 marcs p.a. 26 Sept. 1345. Seal, worn. (Fr.) (Jeayes 1631.)

500. Mortgage by Nicholas Longford of Longford, co. Derby, esq., to Hugh Beeston of the parish of St. Clement Danes, co. Middx., esq., of the farm in Malmerton occupied by Edward Goodale. 19 Dec. 1592. O.n. **(44)**. With counterpart.

501. Conveyance from the above Hugh Beeston, at the instance of the above Nicholas Longford, to James Stuffyn and Anthony Nevill, both of Kyrckbye Bellers, co. Leic., gentlemen, of the same. 25 June 1594. O.n. **(46)**

502. Release by George Alsopp, gentleman, to Thomas Clayton of all his right, etc., in a messuage in Mammerton. 21 Oct. 1606. O.n. **(66)**

503. *Writinges concerninge Mammerton Farme.* 1622.

504. Lease for 90 years by Sir Edward Coke of Langford, bart., to

Doyley Dier of Staughton, co. Hunt., esq., and George Allestrye of Derby, gentleman, of two messuages, in Mammerton and Langford respectively, with appurtenances, as an additional provision for Dame Katherine his wife, sister of the said Doyley Dier. 1 Nov. 1654. O.n. (88)

505. Assignment from the above Dame Katherine Coke, widow, to Edward Coke of Greate Staughton, co. Hunt., esq., of her term of years in the same. 6 Dec. 1684. O.n. (93)

MANCHESTER.

506. Record of a plea respecting Geoffrey de Strangways, son and heir of the late Thomas de Strangways, and a piece of land called Tettelawe. [1387.] Partly illegible through damp.

507. Gift by Thomas de Longley and John de Longley to Katherine, widow of Robert de Longley, of all those messuages, lands, etc., called Tettelowe which they had of the feoffment of Oliver Smethehurst, chaplain, for term of her life, under certain conditions. 4 Aug. 1447. 2 seals.

508. Indenture of agreement between Anne Barlawe, widow of Elys Barlawe, and John Redyche, esq., of the one part, and George Leghe of Manchester, gentleman, of the other, respecting the marriage of Alexander Barlawe (son and heir of Elys and Anne) and Elizabeth Leghe (a daughter of George). 24 Sept. 1528. Seal, imperf. O.n. (8). With bond for performance of the same.

509. Bond of Thomas Trayford of Manchester, gentleman, his wife Elizabeth, and William Ratclyff of the same, gentleman, to John Redyche, co. Lanc., esq., touching the administration of the goods and chattels of George Leghe, late of Manchester, deceased. 24 April 1552.

MANNINGTREE, CO. ESSEX.

510. Grant by Henry VIII to John Raynforth of Bradfeild, co. Essex, kt., of the manors of Manytree *alias* Schidinghoo, co. Essex, and Goddellesforde, co. Suff., which belonged to the late monastery of Canonleigh, co. Devon ; le Crane, Le Key and Keyhowse in Manytree ; and all possessions of the monastery in Manytre, Schidinghoo, Mistleigh, Lawford Parva, Bromeleigh, Ardeleigh and Bradfeild, co. Essex, and in Goddellesford Parva, Belstede and Whestede, co. Suff., as fully as the last abbess held the same. 13 May 1540. True copy.

MATHFIELD, CO STAFF.

511. Special pardon granted to Francis Rolston, late of Mathfelde, co. Staff., esq., on the petition of Mary his wife and George his son. 9 Feb. 1574. Seal, large fragm.

MELLOR, CO. DERBY.

512. Indenture of agreement between Jane Prestwich (widow of Elys Prestwich of Hulme, co. Lanc., esq.) and her *cosyn* Ellen Grene, of the one part, and Robert Radclyff of Mellor in Glossop parish, co. Derby, gentleman, of the other, concerning the marriage of Ellen and Robert and the former's jointure. 3 July 1506. Seal, imperf.

Co. Middlesex.

513. Assignment from William Holte of Grays Inn, co. Middx., esq., to Katherine Redishe, widow of Alexander Redishe of Newhall, co. Derby, esq., and Oates Redishe of Fleet Street, London, haberdasher, of his right, etc., in messuages, etc., in the town or parish of St. Gyles in the Feildes, co. Middx. 1 Dec. 1613. Seal, missing.

Monyash, co. Derby.

514. Lease for 21 years by John Manners of Haddon, co. Derby, esq., to Humphrey Goodwyn, William Goodwyn the younger and Hugh Goodwyn of Monyashe, husbandmen, of his tithe of corn and grain growing on land in Monyash. 25 March 1600.

515. Similar lease by Thomas Newton, singleman, and his brother George Newton, yeoman, both of Monyashe, to Humphrey Goodwine of the same, yeoman, of premises in Monyashe. 21 Dec. 1607.

516. Bargain and sale by Christopher Jackson, son and heir of Hugh Jackson of Monyasshe, husbandman, to Richard Nycholson of the same, husbandman, of a messuage, barn and land in Monyasshe. 12 Jan. 1611.

517. The same from William Boame of Moniashe, yeoman, to Grace Nycholson of the same, widow, of land in the fields of Moniash. 20 Nov. 1629. O.n. **(100)**

Moston, co. Lanc.

518. Bargain and sale by Henry, Earl of Sussex, to John Radiche of Radiche, co. Lanc., esq., of his manors of Moston and Cromshall, co. Lanc., with appurtenances. 4 Nov. 1547. Seal. O.n. **(9)**. With copy, O.n. **(13)**

519. Bond of indemnity to the above John Radiche respecting the same. 5 Nov. 1547.

520. Purchase deed of the same. 6 Nov. 1547. O.n. **(10)**

521. Bargain and sale by the above John Radiche to Geoffrey Bowker and Oliver Bowker of a tenement and closes, being a parcel of the manor of Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal.

522. The same to Ralph Jepson, of a messuage and land, a parcel of the manor of Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal.

523. The same to George Kenyon, of a messuage and land in Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal, missing.

524. The same to Thomas Nycholasson of Rediche, co. Lanc., of 3 tenements and land in Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal.

525. The same to Richard Sedall, of 3 tenements and land in Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal, imperf.

526. The same to Robert Shaklok and Thomas Shaklok, of Moston Hall and adjoining closes and woods and 5 tenements and land in Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal.

527. The same to William Strete of a tenement and land in Moston. 8 Nov. 1547. Seal.

528. Warrant from Henry, Earl of Sussex, for the delivery to the above John Rediche of deeds and evidences belonging to the manors of Moston and Crumsall, co. Lanc. 14 Nov. 1547. O.n. **(11)**

529. Bargain and sale by the above John Radiche to Nicholas Bowker of a tenement and land in Moston. 1 Dec. 1547. Seal.

530. The same to Edward Moseley of a tenement and land in Moston. 1 Dec. 1547. Seal.

531. Grant by John Reddiche of Reddiche, co. Lanc., esq., to Richard Strete of Moston, yeoman, of a moiety of that messuage in Moston formerly occupied by William Strete, his father. 27 July 1565. Seal, missing.

532. Similar grant to George Strete of Moston, yeoman. 23 Aug. 1565. Seal.

533. Similar grant to Richard Strete of Moston, yeoman. 23 Aug. 1565. Seal.

NEWHALL, CO. DERBY

534. Settlement before the marriage of Francis Dethicke, son and heir of Humphrey Dethicke of Newhall, esq., and Katherine Gresley, eldest daughter of Thomas Gresley of Drakelowe, co Derby, esq. 10 Aug. 1596. Seal, missing. O.n. **(53)**

535. Conveyance by Alexander Rediche of Rediche, co. Lanc., esq., to the Queen, of all his interest, estate, etc., in the manor of Newhall, and lands, etc., there and in Stanton, Hartshorne and Stapenhull, co. Derby, Stapenhull and Burton upon Trente, co. Staff., Orton uppon the Hill, co. Warw., the manor of Snarestone, co. Leic., and all lands, etc., in Snarestone which are or were of Humphrey Dethicke of Newhall ; with proviso for redemption. 5 July 1598. Seal. O.n. **(58)**

536. Will of Humphrey Dethicke of Newhall, esq. 2 Dec. 1599. Copy.

537. I.P.M. of Humphrey Dethick, esq., late of Newhall. 3 April 1600. O.n. **(59)**

He died 9 Dec. 1599, Katherine, wife of Alexander Rediche, esq., being his daughter and heir.

538. Final concord between Edward Darcye, kt., and Robert Darcye, kt., plaintiffs, and Alexander Rediche, esq., and his wife Katherine, deforciants, respecting the manor of Newhall with appurtenances and messuages, etc., there and in Hathcote *alias* Hathcote Warde, Hartshorne, Stapenhill and Measam, and the advowson of Hartshorne church, co. Derby, the manor of Snarkeston *alias* Snarston with appurtenances, and messuages, etc., there and in Applebye and Norton, co. Leic., and Burton on Trent, co. Staff. Morrow of Trinity, 1605.

539. Inventory of the goods and chattels of Alexander Rediche, late of Newhall, esq., deceased, taken 14 June 1613. Parchment, 7 skins.

540. Articles of agreement between Katherine Reddich and Sir Robert Darcye for an assurance to the latter and to Dame Grace his wife, of all those lands that were Humphrey Dethick's. 24 April 1617. 3 copies. O.n. **(112)**. With 2 papers respecting the same.

541. Indenture of warranty from Lady Amy Blount and John Wotton of London, gentleman, to Katherine Rediche of Newhall, widow, respecting an obligation whereby the said Katherine and William Holte, esq., are bound to John. 14 Feb. 1625. 2 seals, imperf. O.n. **(84)**

542. Will of Katherine Reditche, widow of Alexander Reditche of Newhall, esq., deceased. 30 Oct. 1631. Codicil, 12 March 1631/2.

NEWTON SOLNEY, CO. DERBY.

543. Roll of the Great Court of Neutonsulny. 1353-1354. Parchment, 1 m.

544. Roll of the Great Courts of Margery de Longfford (2) and Robert del Legh, kt. (1), held at Neuton Sulney. 1403-1405. Parchment, 1 m.

545. Gift by Nicholas Longforde, kt., to John Longforde, rector of Northewynfeld, John Lathbury, esq., and John Bonyngton, esq., of all his lands, tenements, etc., in Neutonsulney and Hathersegge, co. Derby. 2 Feb. 1474. (Jeayes 1764.)

546. Letter of attorney to John Swynton, Nicholas Robynson and Bartholomew Tatton to deliver seisin of the same. 2 Feb. 1474.

547. Roll of the Great Court of feoffees of Nicholas Longefforde, kt., and John Lathbury, esq., held at Newton Sulney. Nov. 1475. Parchment, 1 m.

548. Lease for 40 years by Margaret Longford, widow of Nicholas Longford, kt., to Ralph Longford, Nicholas's brother and heir, of her manors of Newtonsulney, Blakwall, Kynwolmersh, Dukmanton, Hathersegge, Normanton and Penkeston, co. Derby, Baseford, co. Nott., Ourby and Wyllyngham, co. Linc., Elaston, co. Staff., and lands, etc., in the same places and in Wyngerworth and Morehethfelde, with appurtenances; rent, 83l. p.a. 26 April 1482. Seal, missing. With counterpart, seal missing.

549. Feoffment to uses from Ralph Longford of Longford, co. Derby, kt., to John Fytzherbert of Norbure [co. Derby], Humphrey Bradburne, esq., John Bradburne, Anthony Fytzherbert, Nicholas Fytzherbert and Edward Reddeferne, perpetual vicar of Longford, of his manors of Newton Sulney, Blakewell, Whytwell, Barlebrugh, Morton, Pillesley, Northwynfeld, Wyngerworth, Dukmanton, Haddersegge, Normanton, Pynkeston and Boythorpe, co. Derby, Elaston, co. Staff., and all his lands, etc., in the same places and elsewhere in co. Derby, except the manors of Longford and Kynwalmersh, co. Derby, and his lands, etc., there. 20 Sept. 1510. Seal, missing. O.n. **(9)**

550. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Longforth, of the first part, John Longforth, of the second, Henry Longforth, of the third, and William Longforth, of the fourth (all sons of Sir Ralph Longforth, kt.), respecting the same. 31 May 1521.

551. Demise by John Fitzherbert of Norbury [co. Derby], esq., Thomas Fitzherbert, Anthony Fitzherbert, John Bradburne and Edward Redfern, rector of Longforth, to Henry Longforth, of Newton Park, for life, of a fishing in the water of Trent, messuages and land in Newton Sulney, and an annual rent issuing from Elaxston manor, co. Derby. 9 July 1521. O.n. **(14)**

552. Indenture of convenants between Thomas Longfford, esq. (son of the late Sir Ralph Longfford), and Anthony Fitzherbert respecting the jointure of Dorothy, wife of Ralph Longfford, heir of the said Sir Ralph. 14 Jan. 1522. O.n. **(15)**

553. Roll of the Great Court of Nicholas Longford and Thomas Leigh, esq., held at Newton Solney. 1577, June-Oct. 1588. Paper, 4 'skins'.

554. Conveyance by Nicholas Langford, co. Derby, esq., to John Langford of St. Germyns, co. Cornwall, esq., of a moiety of the manor of Newton Sulneye with all appurtenances, with proviso. 19 Aug. 1591. O.n. **(42)**

555. Indenture between the above Nicholas Langford and Hugh Beeston of the Strande, co. Middlx., esq., respecting the same. 29 April 1592. O.n. **(43)**

556. Indenture of covenants between Thomas Markham of Kyrbye Bellars, co. Leic., esq., and Hugh Beeston of Saint Clement Danes, co. Middx., esq., respecting the same moiety, since conveyed to Hugh 10 Dec. 1595. O.n. **(57)**

557. Release by Katherine Redish of Newall, widow (sole daughter and heir of Elizabeth Dethicke, surviving daughter and heir of Sir Ralph Longford, kt.), to Sir Henry Leigh of Egginton, co. Derby, kt., of a moiety of Newton Solney manor with appurtenances, free fishing in the water of Trent, and all other the messuages, etc., in Newton Solney which were sometime the inheritance of Sir Ralph or of Nicholas Longford, esq., deceased, his son and heir. 22 Jan. 1619/20. Seal.

Co. Norfolk.

558. Settlement between John Coke of Holkeham, co. Norf., esq., of the one part, and James Fountaine and Andrew Fountaine, both of the Inner Temple, London, esquires, for the entailing of manors, lands, etc., in cos. Norfolk, Suffolk, Dorset, Somerset, Stafford, Oxford and Buckingham. 14 Nov. 1665. Copy. O.n. **(110)**

Normanton, South, co. Derby.

559. Indenture of covenants between Nicholas Langforde of Langforde, co. Derby, esq., of the one part, and Richard Coke of Kyrkbey in Ashfelde, co. Nott., gentleman, and John Coke, parson of Northwinfelde, co. Derby, clerk, of the other, respecting the manor of Southnormanton with appurtenances and messuages, etc., there. 1 April 1567. 2 seals, worn.

Norton, co. Derby.

560. Settlement before the marriage of Cornelius Clarke of Norton, esq., and Catherine Coke. 21 Oct. 1669.

561. Letter from Catherine Clarke to [appar. Sir Edward Coke]. 3 Feb. [1670/96.]

562. Grant by the above Cornelius Clarke to Sir Edward Cooke of Langford, co. Derby, bart., of an annuity issuing from the manor of Norton and messuages, etc., at Brampton and Cold Aston, co. Derby, to the use of Catherine, Cornelius's wife, for term of her life. 13 June 1696.

563. Indenture of covenants between the above Sir Edward and the above Catherine Clarke of Norton, widow, respecting the above annuity. 16 July 1696.

564. The same between the above Catherine Clarke, of the one part, and Robert Offley of Norton, gentleman, and his son and heir Stephen Offley, of the other, respecting the same. 28 May 1700.

OLDHAM, CO. LANC.

565. Grant by John Rediche of Rediche, co. Lanc., esq., and his wife, Margaret, to Laurence Brodley of the same, husbandman, of an annuity issuing from tenements, etc., in Oldam, Crompton, Prestwiche and elsewhere in co. Lanc., formerly of the late Robert Langley, kt. 24 June 1567. 2 seals, missing.

566. Bond for performance of covenants in the above. 29 June 1567. 2 seals.

PENDLEBURY, CO. LANC.

567. Gift by Richard de Workedeley to Adam de Presteyc of all the land which he has of the gift of Roger de Penilbury in the vill of Penilbury with all appurtenances, and all assarts of the mill and a moiety of the mill, within certain specified bounds; rent, 2 arrowheads of iron p.a. *Hiis testibus Domino Petro de Gredley, Domino Johanne de Bur', Domino G. de Bracebrug, Ricardo de Radeclive, Henrico de Trafford, Roberto de Chorisword et aliis.* n.d. [late 13th cent.] Seal, missing.

568. Quitclaim by Beatrice, daughter of Elias de Penulbyri to Adam, lord of Prestewiche, of all her right, etc., in the whole manor of Penulbyri with appurtenances. Manchester, 25 Mar. 1299. Seal, worn and imperf.

569. Similar quitclaim. Chester, 19 Nov. 1299. Seal, missing.

570. Gift by Alice de Wlleye [*sic*] to Adam de Prestwiche of all her manor of Pennulbury and her land of Nordene and Brendelach, within certain specified bounds. 12 July 1307. Seal, missing.

571. Gift by John de Radeclif, sen., to his son Richard and the heirs male of the said Richard, of his manor of Penilberi, with 20 acres of land in Prestewiche, all his land in Norghdene in the vill of Workislegh, with common pasture of Swinton, and all his land and hedge in Penilton, with all their appurtenances; with successive remainders to John, son of Agnes de Leght [*sic*], William, son of Richard de Radeclif, and William, son of William de Radeclif, and their respective heirs male. 25 April 1350. Seal, heral.

572. Record of an assize held at Preston whether Richard de Longlegh, his wife Joan, his son Thurstan, Henry de Walton, Archdeacon of Richemund, and Alexander, son of Henry le Kemp of Radeclif wrongfully disseized John de Radclif, sen., of his free tenement in Penilburi and Swinton. 30 July 1355.

573. Quitclaim by Robert, son of Roger de Pilkyngton to Roger de Longlegh of all his right, etc., in the manor of Penulbury with le Fer and les Crymbles, with all appurtenances. 17 Oct. 1378. Seal, heral.

574. Assignment from Thomas Diggle of Pendlebury, blacksmith, and his eldest son Ralph Diggle to Thomas Seddon of the same, husbandman, of Droylsden meadows in Pendlebury. 10 March 1651/2.

575. Mortgage by Ralph Diggle of Pendleburie, husbandman, to

Thomas Gooldin of the same, yeoman, of two closes in Pendleburie. 21 April 1656.

576. Lease for 3 lives by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., to John Files of Pendlebury, yeoman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Pendilbury. 1 May 1672.

PENDLETON, CO. LANC.

577. Gift by Adam de Prestewyche to Alice, daughter of Richard de Pontefract of a piece of moorland which he has of the gift of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, between Pennelbiry and Pennelton, and a piece of waste land called le Northdene in Swynton which he has of the gift of Roger, son of Adam de Pennelbury. 14 Aug. 1306. Seal, with canvas covering.

578. Feoffment to uses by Robert Langley of Agecroft, co. Lanc., kt., to Alexander Barloe of Barloe, co. Lanc., esq., Ralph Arderen of Harden, co. Chester, esq., and Thomas Nicholson of Reddiche, co. Lanc., yeoman, of his land in Pendilton called Windelhey, with appurtenances. 16 Sept. 1561. Seal, worn.

PILSLEY, CO. DERBY.

579. Quitclaim by Ivo, son of Roger de Pillesleya, with the consent of William his son and heir, to Roger de Eyncourt of all his land in the vill of Pillesl' and all his claim against Roger respecting that land for retention and arrears of service for 16 years ; for this quitclaim Roger has given him 20s. in gersum, and also a *tunica* to him and one to his son. *Hiis testibus Waltero de Eyncurt, Johanne de Eyncurt, Rogero de Stretton, Rogero de Sydenhal, Johanne de Gildeford et aliis.* Seal, missing. n.d. [temp. Henry III.]

PINXTON, CO. DERBY

580. Gift by Ralph Longeford, kt., to Margery, widow of Nicholas Longeford, kt., his grandfather, of moieties of the manors of Penkeston, Normanton and Blakewell, co. Derby, with all his lands and tenements in Neuton Sulne, co. Derby, Orby and Willyngham, co. Linc., and Baseford, co. Nott., for term of her life, with remainders to Alvered Longeford, Henry Longeford and Ralph Longeford, esquires. 28 Sept. 1426. Seal.

PRESTWICH, CO. LANC.

581. Gift by Thomas, son of Adam de Prestwych to Robert, son of Henry de Trafford, kt., of a piece of land in the vill of Prestwych named Le Foghecastell. 23 Jan. 1333. Seal, imperf. and worn.

582. Gift by Edmund de Prestwiche and his wife Margaret to Robert de Longley of certain pieces of ground named Anessley, Crymbles and Lummes in Achecroft and Prestwych, of a third part of houses and buildings on the manor of Achecroft, and a third part of their mill there, for term of Margaret's life ; rent, 4 marcs silver p.a. 1 Jan. 1410. 2 seals (1 missing).

583. Bond of Robert Langley of Achecroft, esq., his son and heir Thomas Langley, and Peter Shakerley, esq., to Ralph Prestwich, brother of Nicholas Prestwich. 20 Jan. 1506. Seals missing.

584. Bond of Edmund Trafford, esq., George Trafford, esq., Elias Barlawe, gentleman, and William Byrch, gentleman, to Robert Langley, for performance of covenants. 20 Nov. 1517. 2 seals.

585. Indenture of covenants preceding a grant of general livery by the Queen to John Ridishe, gentleman, and his wife Margaret, a daughter and coheir of the late Sir Robert Langley, kt. 13 June 1562. 2 seals. With extent attached.

586. Court Book containing (ff. 1-38) proceedings of courts held before John Reddiche, esq., Thomas Nichollassonn (deputy of Margaret, widow of John Reddiche) and Richard Hollaunde, at Prestwiche and Reddiche, co. Lanc., Dec. 1560-July 1571, and (ff. 39-40) a rental for the charterers and tenants of William Kennyon. Paper, 40 ff., with parchm. cover.

587. Lease by Richard Hollande of Denton, co. Lanc., esq., his wife Margaret (a daughter and heir of the late Sir Robert Langley) and Alexander Reddich of Reddich, co. Lanc., esq., to Robert Diggle, son of William Diggle of Prestwich, husbandman, of a messuage and land in Prestwich, for the life of the said Robert Diggle and for 21 years after his death. 31 March 1607. 3 seals (missing).

588. Indenture of covenants between the above Richard and Margaret, of the first part, the above Alexander, of the second, and William Cowdall of Reddich, co. Lanc., and John Boulton, yeomen, of the third, for a conveyance to William and John, of messuages, etc., in Prestwich, Pendleburie, Pendleton and Tetlowe, co. Lanc., sometime the inheritance of Sir Robert Langley, kt. 1 April 1607. O.n. (**38**). With schedule attached.

589. Exemplification of the I.P.M. (taken at Wigan, 20 Jan. 1562) of Robert Langley, kt., made for Clement Coke, esq. 29 Jan. 1621. Seal, missing. O.n. (**17**)

Langley died 19 Sept. 1561, Dorothy (wife of James Assheton, gentleman), Margaret (wife of John Redyshe, esq.), Anne Langley and Katherine Langley being his daughters and heiresses.

590. Lease for 4 lives by Sir Edward Coke of Langford, co. Derby, bart., to Richard Taylor of Prestwich, husbandman, of a messuage with appurtenances in Prestwich. 28 July 1653. Counterpart.

591. Lease for 21 years by Sir Robert Coke of Longford, co. Derby, bart., to Peter Worsley of Prestwich, yeoman, of a messuage in Prestwich. 10 Feb. 1670. Counterpart.

592. Similar lease to Adam Gartside of Prestwich, yeoman, for 3 lives. 20 Oct. 1670. Counterpart.

REDDISH, CO. LANC.

593. Quitclaim from William de Baggelewe to Robert de Redich of all his right in land lying near the road towards Redich; for this quitclaim Robert has given him 1 marc silver. *Hiis testibus Ricardo de Burun, Roberto de Hulton, Roberto de Hyde, Radulfo de Moston, Ricardo de Trafford, Willelmo Norense, Willelmo de Midelton, Ricardo clerico et multis aliis.* n.d. [temp. Henry III.] Seal, missing.

594. Gift by Matthew, lord of Rediche, to his daughter and heir Ellen, in free dowry with Richard, son of David de Hulton, of all his land of

Rediche, to have and to hold to them and their lawful heirs after his death. *Hiis testibus Domino Johanne le Birun, Thoma de Asseton, Ricardo domino de Wrkedelay, Ricardo de Radeclive, Ricardo filio David de Hulton, Elya de Lever, Ricardo filio Rogeri de Wrkedelay, Ricardo de Boulton, Willelmo de Blyda et aliis.* n.d. [late 13th cent.] Seal, missing. Imperf. and stained.

595. Quitclaim by Robert de Redisg' to Matthew, lord of Redig' [*sic*], of all his parts of prattushurs, le holuhebothum, Wylkynusfeld, and le mulnehusus, which Adam le Hync formerly held of him [Robert], and his part of le caluoreheye which is called le paruc ; for this quitclaim Matthew has given him 20s. sterling. 6 March 1290. Seal, missing.

596. Quitclaim by Agnes, widow of Matthew de Rediche, to Richard, son of David de Hulton, jun., of dower rights in Hareull', Brokeschagh and Wercokesryd, as they are enclosed in the vill of Rediche, with all buildings thereon. 14 July 1306. Seal, missing.

597. Gift by John de Chorlegh and his wife Joan to Robert de Rediche, chaplain, of all their messuages, lands and tenements in the vill of Rediche. 12 Nov. 1362. 2 seals (1 imperf., 1 missing).

(To be concluded.)

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